

*Whether it be mortall sinne to  
transgresse Ciuil lawes, whiche  
be the commaundementes of Ci-  
uill Magistrates?*



All vertue requireth  
not onely to restraine  
outwardly the bandes,  
and to rule eternall ac-  
tions, but also it requi-  
reth in the minde a deli-  
beratiō and an intent of  
counsaille: It also requi-  
reth a mynde inured to holde in all braydes,  
& to vse a certayne moderation to deliberate.  
These two thynges are truely required to  
vertues, and youth must be trayned vp, to  
vnderstande the force and nature of eyther of  
them. Deliberation or aduiseement, must seke  
out and vnderstande the causes and reasons  
of al actiōs, which (as it were with a bridle)  
drawe backe the furious mind into the right  
way, and shewe what is to be done.

But mozall is called that facilitie of the  
mynde, or equabilite, moderation, and stay,  
wherwith it can restraine it self, vntyl that  
it be well aduised of the matter, to do that

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which



whiche is most ryght, with a certayne pleasure.

Seeing then it is nedeful to vnderstand the causes of honest actions, it is not inough to knowe the lawes, but it is most necessarie to the perfourmance of morall vertue, to know what the aucthoritie of the lawes be, howe farre it is nedefull to obey them. The minde being with this doctrine establiſhed, ſhall both thinke moze honozablye of the lawes, & alſo vnderſtande howe farre forth it muſt obey. This iudgement of the aucthoritie of lawes parteyneth to morall vertue.

Rom. 13.

Fiſt I anſwere, that to breake ciuill lawes, or the preceptes of ciuill Magiſtrates is mortall ſinne, though there be no matter of offence: for Paul ſayth playnely, that we muſt needes obey, not for feare of vengeance onely, but alſo becauſe of conſcience, that is, that we not only feare ciuill puniſhment, but alſo know that our conſcience is made guilty, yf we do not obey. Nowe it is the part of a good mynd to conſyder, how great this band of obedience and common quietnes is, which God alſo requireth, that we obey lawes and Magiſtrates.

And yf we obey not, he ſayth that he will reuenge it. And God truely puniſheth both

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in this lyfe, & also after this life, as the fourth **Exod. 20.**  
precept speaketh of punishments in this lyfe.  
If thou wilt liue long vpon earth. &c. for that  
precept geneth charge of obedience, that we  
obey not only our parentes, but also all them  
to whom our parentes do geue their autho-  
ritie, to wit, the magistrates. And therefore  
many other sentences in the scripture, speake **Psou. 24.**  
of the punishments that shalbe suffered in  
this lyfe. Feare God and the kyng, and haue  
no felowship with the seditions, for their de-  
struction shal come sodenly. And Christ saith, **Mat. 26.**  
He whiche taketh the sword in hande, shall  
perishe with the sword: for to take a sword  
in hande, signifieth to take vp the sword for-  
bidden by the lawes and the Magistrates,  
that is, to be seditious, and to disobey the pre-  
sent Magistrates. And the examples set out  
in the scriptures, do not only shewe this, but  
also the histories of all ages, that murderers,  
theefes, perjured persons, vnjust iudges, se-  
ditionous and tyrauntes, are for the most part  
punished by God in this lyfe. This I say vnto  
this ende, that we may knowe, howe that  
God requireth this discipline, to kepe men  
in awe with feare of punishment.

This feare encreaseeth reuerence toward  
the lawes, and causeth some morakitie in our  
myndes.



myndes , when as it bydleth as it were  
 our lustes , and inureth them to obedience.  
 And there is no doubt , but that many gre-  
 uous chaunces are punishments of this bar-  
 barous libertie , whiche many take vppon  
 them , and wil not be ruled by the auctoritie  
 of the superiours. For the law of God erreth  
 not , which saith , Honoz thy father & mother ,  
 if thou wilt liue lōg vpo earth. Besides that ,  
 there is moze reuerence in our myndes , when  
 as we beleue , that the bzeache of the lawes is  
 punished with eternall tormentes after this  
 lyfe , except we do repent. This sentence tou-  
 ching the pzecepts of magistrates must wise-  
 ly be vnderstand , namely of those pzeceptes ,  
 which byd vs not to do agaynst the cōman-  
 dementes of God. We must also consyder  
 whether it be wantonnes in them which dis-  
 obey , or whether some causes happen , which  
 haue some excuse. The differēce which Ger-  
 son vseth , lyketh me , who discerneth lawes ,  
 saying , That some are made for necessitie  
 such as serue for cōmon quietnes , as of theft ,  
 murder , mariages , diuiding of inheritaun-  
 ces , tributes , warfare , iudgements , and such  
 like. Some are not made so much for necessi-  
 tie , as for comlynesse , as it is pzovided , that a  
 womā marry not , before she haue left mour-  
 ning for her former husband. This

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This difference liketh me, not only because reason breedeth sundry bondes, but rather, because the mynde of the magistrate is euident, which in the former matters simply requireth obedience: in other lighter matters it doth not so exacte it. The mynde of the lawemaker must be considered, howe farre he wyll binde, & yet in these lyghter thinges there may be no wantonnesse & contempt of authoritie, for it is an euyl example. But it is profitable as well for discipline, as the quietnesse of the common wealth, so to accusome our myndes, that euen in trifles they may regard the authoritie of the lawes. And this we must knowe, that we lyue not to our selues, but to the common wealth. We must therfore take heede, that our examples be no publike hurt. The same doth Plato most grauely wyte in his fift booke of lawes, that he is the best and most worthy citizen, which accounteth not triumphes or any victories to be the chiefest renowne in the citie, but to excell others in diligent obeying of the lawes.

But here the question is asked, whether the like iudgemēt be of Ecclesiastical ceremonies, which by the authoritie of man are ordained. I answer, that herein this rule must be obserued, that in case of offence it is faine



to breake them, but no offence beyng genen, they may be broken without mortall synne. For it is nedefull to kepe this doctrine, that such ceremonies are thynges indifferent, & not necessary for righteousnes before god, as it is indifferent to weare a gowne or a cloke &c. This rule of Paul is profitable both to common peace and the quietnesse of our consciences, for it cōserueth publike rites, it bindeth to beware of offences, cōmon tumultes, and publike disturbing of orders. Agayne it deliuereth the conscience from many superstitious opinions, and horrible crueltie: for yf good myndes do thinke that the obseruyng of such orders is necessarie (no cause of offence beyng) it wolbe a harde bondage.

In so great a number of rytes, howe ofte shal our cōsciences sal? sometime in fastings, in rehearsing of prayers, in keepyng of holydaies, or suche like: many thynges happen to them, especially which haue busynesse, why they can not alwayes obserue these orders. Therefore this rule contayneth a profitable moderation, whiche forbiddeth publique offences, preserveth customes profitable for quietnes, and privatly deliuereth the consciences from daunger.

When the causes of these lawes and traditions

ditions are vnderstande, good natures wyl  
the moze embrace the, then is it fit that these  
things be knowne, namely that these ordi-  
nances are appoynted by the Church for good  
and publique orders sake, & that the Church  
wyl not p'stutly entangle any mans con-  
science. And most mozeall it is to loue common  
quietnesse and order, good men therfoze wyl  
greatly embrace these ordinances, seying that  
to quietnesse and order they are anayleable, &  
in that they are deliuered from superstitious  
opinions, and knowe that without daunger  
these ceremonies may be left, no offence be-  
yng genen.

But here it is asked, whether Ecclesiasti-  
call ordinances, and the ciuill lawes of ma-  
gistrates do diuersly bynd. I aunswere. The  
bonde is vnlvke: and although reasons may  
be asked, yet the playnest way is to iudge  
these things by the euident & cleare testimo-  
nies of scripture. First therfoze I wyl re-  
bearse them, then wil I adde the reasons and  
interpretation, lest any absurditie may be ta-  
ken by our opinion.

Touching obedience due to the ciuill lawes,  
Paul sayth, we must obey, not only for feare Rom. 13.  
of ben geaunce, but also for conscience sake.  
This commaundement byndeth vs euen  
without



Coloss. 2.  
Galat. 5.

Mat. 15.

Not of ne-  
cessitie in  
them selve:  
But for  
necessitie of  
obedience.

without matter of offence: for we must obey the aucthoritie of God, though no offence be geuen. But touchyng Ecclesiasticall ceremonies, Paul sayth, Let no man condemne you for meate or drinke, or a peece of an holy day. And againe, Stand fast in the libertie, wherewith Christ hath made vs free, and wrap not your selues agayne in the yoke of bondage. And Christ sayth, That whiche entreth into the mouth, defileth not the man, & the apostle excuseth them, whiche breake traditions.

Because it is needefull that this doctrine be in the Church, that those traditiōs touching meate and such lyke are no woꝛthypping or ryghteousnes, but thinges indifferent: therefore the gospel teacheth, that our consciences may not be burdened with the opinion of necessitie. Notwithstandyng, because this lyfe can not lacke ordinaunces & ceremonies, this moderation is needefull, to haue them so obserued, lest the doctrine of true woꝛthypping and of the benefit of Christe shoulde be darkened. Agayne, lest our cōsciēces shoulde be burdened with infinite verations, which might cause shipwacke of sayth: Wherefore the Gospell wyll haue vs vnderstande that these rytes may be left out, without matter of offence be geuen, but for good order, and  
for

for auoydng of offences, they ought to be kept. This libertie beyng limited by the authoritie of the Gospell, can not be taken away by mans authoritie.

I haue shewed by the testimonies of scripture, that the bynding is unlike. This is the playnest aunswere vnto this question, but we wyll shewe the reason.

The firste is taken of the efficient causes, or the ryght of power, and this Gerson followeth. The Ciuill magistrate by Gods authoritie, hath ryght to make honest and profitable lawes, in those matters whiche pertaine to the defence of this corporall life and ciuill societie, as of iudgements, the penalties of offences, contractes, successions, and suche lyke, as Salomon sayth, By me kinges do Pro. 8. raigne, and appoynt iust thinges.

But Ecclesiastical power is limited, so as it hath a commaundement what it ought to teache, and that it inuent no newe worshippyng, neyther burthen the consciences with traditions of ceremonies. For Peter sayth, Why tempt you God, laying on a yoke. 4c. Act. 15. And Paul, Why make you decrees: touche not, handle not. 4c. Seing then that the right of eether power is onlyke, the lawes also of verdy do bynde. Colo. 2.

Seconde



Second reason, of the final causes of lawes. Ciuill lawes, are the bands of common societie, therefore in breaking them, charitie is alwayes hurt, so because every one ought to vse his obedience, as a scale, to the defence of common quietnes, also the common tributes and al his trauayle must thereto be applyed: when this they do not, they deceaue the rest, & enjoy other mens offices, employing nothing of their owne vnto it, euen as he whiche to a common banket geueth not his money, be- guileth the gesses.

The example also in breaking it doth hurt, and troubleth common quietnesse: therefore in ciuill lawes, respect of charitie and offence is alwayes of force. But most part of ceremonies are priuate, & domesticall obseruations, the breach wherof hurteth not others. When sayng in them is no hazarde of charitie, nor offences chaunce, & authoritie of these lawes is vnylike: so of these also we haue spoken, that then they are necessary, neither can they be broken without sinne, when as the breach breedeth offences, that is, hurteth others mens faith and manners, or rashly troubleth the quietnesse of others. And although it be profitable to consider these reasons & causes, and to vnderstande the degrees of lawes: yet

Ciuill  
lawes al-  
wayes to  
be obser-  
ued.  
Ceremo-  
niall may  
sometimes  
be broken.

is it moze sure playnelye to geue iudgement  
 out of these sentences of scripture befoze recit-  
 ed, fo: the reasons haue many doubtes, & do  
 not sufficiently stablishe the conscience. And  
 wyse men may seeke and inuent many dark  
 matters on both sydes, if that we shall iudge  
 only vpon reasons, & not out of the scriptures.  
 But here young men are to be warned, that  
 although it be needefull to knowe, that these  
 indifferent thynges are no wo:shipping of  
 God: yet they must learne, that the case of of-  
 fence is large, and with diligent care they  
 must beware of it: fo: in the breache of tra-  
 ditions two thyngs are hazarded, discipline,  
 and tranquillitie, o: the agreement of the co-  
 mon wealth. It is fit fo: vs to vnderstande  
 cheefly the greatnesse and force of eyther of  
 these, beyng occupied in the studies of lea-  
 rnyng and vertues.

Firste fo: discipline sake, there neede / cer-  
 tayne ordinaunces: fo: unskilful persons, v: must  
 be accustomed to ceremonies and rites, to ho-  
 ly dayes, to certayne readings, to p:uate  
 and publique exercises, & fo: that cause Paul  
 calleth the lawe a schoolemaister: so: these  
 ceremonies are certayne institution; neces-  
 sarye fo: young yeres.

And although the Gospell doth bring a  
 higher



higher doctrine, yet it wyl not haue discipline and institution to be abolished, but it commaundeth that men be restrayned, ruled, and taught with suche instructions. What profite this discipline hath, I haue shewed els wherfor God is effectual in the whiche are tractable to be taught and resist not his word. Wherfore the example hurteth in the breache of traditions, for the common people, which naturally hateth the bands of lawes, willingly foloweth these examples, and therof taketh contempt of the whole discipline, and of all the lawes. These ordinances beyng abolished, there can be no discipline, neyther can youth and the vnlearned people be taught.

Then of necessitie must folowe exceeding barbarousnes, and destruction, where youth & the common people can not be instructed. How great a wickednes and murther is it, to geue suche examples, whereby this desolation may arise? And in the other part of offence, how much euill is it, that the quietnes of the Church & common weale is troubled.

In this corporal lyfe we haue neede of ceremonies for order sake, or for decency, which for man is most seemely. For if this order be dissanull'd, infinite confusion doth folowe. For

wher

where there is no authoritie of teachers, no certayne tymes to teache, no certayne teachers, no certayne forme of doctrine: in such confusion, neyther can the Gospell be preserved, neyther the Church instructed.

Finally, as order & consent of publike ordinances both ioyneth in felowship together: so confusion of order doth separate mens minds & breedeth horrible tumultes, & endles warre.

Let vs then thinke, that in breach of traditions, the example commonly and easly spreadeth abroad amongst others. Let vs consider, what evil is in an example. Wherefore lest we burthen our consciences with daunger, lest we hurt others, let vs observe with greater care the publike ordinances whatsoener. It is tyrannical to regarde more what delighteth our selues, then what may do good to others: for we are not borne vnto our selues: but our lyfe parteyneth vnto others, especially vnto the Church, that is, to the glorie of Christ, to the conseruation of the ministerie, and the retayning of discipline for the people. These two things whiche are the greatest, the Church desyeth chiefly to defende. Herein let vs shewe our obedience, our diligence and endeavour, for the common quietnesse and health of vs all.

Plato



Galat. 4.

Plato sayth, we must loue our countrey more  
 then our mother, because our countrey is a  
 certayne heauenly thyng. But the Church  
 ought to be our true countrey, and this true-  
 ly is heauenly: for it is the Temple of God,  
 and the congregation of the members of  
 Christe. Wherefore this we must loue, and  
 wyllyngly obey it, and peeble much vnto the  
 profit & tranquillitie therof. Paul calleth tra-  
 ditions, beggerly elements: which although  
 they be beggerlye, that is, small thynges,  
 transitorie, not eternal, they are no worship-  
 ping, they are no righteousnes, yet they are  
 elementes, that is, ordinaunces, whiche this  
 corporal lyfe can not wante, because of disci-  
 pline and good orders sake. Wherefore these  
 ordinaunces are not to be disannulled, but  
 Pauls counsaile must be considered, who  
 although he cal them beggerly, yet he calleth  
 them elementes, & so taketh away the prayse  
 of righteousnesse, the wing syl that there be  
 ordinaunces, which haue their profite. Great  
 is the force of discipline, there is no sweeter  
 harmonye, then good order in a common-  
 wealth. Wherefore these are called elementes,  
 that is, ordinaunces, whiche preserve that  
 harmonie.

Phil

Philip Melancton vppon  
the.xiii. Chapter of Paules  
Epistle to the Ro-  
manes,

**L**E T euerye soule be  
subiect vnto the hy-  
gher powers : for  
there is no power  
but of G O D . The  
powers that be, are  
ordained of God. VVhosoever ther-  
fore resisteth the power, resisteth the  
ordinance of God: & thei that resist,  
shall reccaue to them selues damna-  
tion. Fbr rulers are not fearefull to  
good workes, but to the euyl. VVylt  
thou not feare the power, do well, &  
thou shalt haue prayse of the same:  
for he is the minister of God for thy  
wealth. But if thou do euil, feare: for  
he beareth not the sworde in vayne:  
for he is the minister of God, reuen-



ger of wrath on him that doth euill. VVherefore ye must needes be subiecte, not onely for feare of punishment: but also because of conscience &c.

In the ende of this pzecept standeth the cōclusion, & the pzeoposition repeated againe. (That of necessitie we muste obey) And that certaynely foꝛ conscience sake, not onely foꝛ the penaltie.

This addition oꝛ exaggregation muste be diligently consydered. He that is taken of a theefe, yf he can annoyde hym, escapeth without offence. But contrary, yf any man could cast from him such charges as the magistrat commaundeth, yet he cannot reiect them without sinne, without the magistrate alloweth thereto, foꝛ that we be necessarily bounde to the magistrates, and also foꝛ conscience.

Some teachers haue holden in disputa- tion, that the pzeceptes of the magistrat do not bynde to mortall sinne, because a mere man cannot inflicte a payne eternall. But the errour of these men, is playnly confuted by the testimonie of saint Paul, which sayth

sayth, VVe must be subiect, not onely  
 for penaltie, but also for conscience,  
 that is, lest our conscience shoulde be defiled  
 with mortall sinne. Ergo, it is mortall  
 sinne, to breake the statutes of the magi-  
 strate, for that God hath made vs subiect to  
 magistrates, and he layeth his punishment  
 vpon suche as contemne the magistrate, be-  
 cause therein also the authoritie of God is  
 contemned.

And here may it appeare, that in the Gos-  
 pell the authoritie of the magistrate is  
 more confirmed and defended, than in any  
 other doctrine: for no other doctrine so  
 earnestly byndeth men to obedience. For  
 the Gospell doth commaunde obedience, not  
 onely for corporall or temporall paynes, but  
 also to escape the wrath of God, an eternall  
 payne, and there is no bonde greater than  
 this bonde of conscience. Therefore Em-  
 peror Iulian, and suche other, dyd great  
 wrong to the Gospell, when they wrote  
 that the doctrine of the Gospell dissolueth  
 all policie.

And for this cause pay you tri-  
 bute, for thei are Gods ministers, ser-  
 uing for the same purpose. Gyue to



every man therefore his ductie, Tribute, to whom tribute is due, Custome, to whom custome, Feare, to whom feare, Honor, to whom honor belongeth.

Before he spake generally of obedience, now he addeth the speciall kyndes thereof, in commaundyng to yeelde thre things, to wit, tribute, feare, and honoꝝ. Tribute comprehendeth all externall burdens whiche be due: as impositions, customes, diligence, defence, marshall exercise, & such lyke seruises eyther to body or of goodes. Foꝝ why? the common wealth can not be defended, vnlesse the princes receaue ayde of the labour and charge of the subiectes. Therefore in this place Dauid affirmeth tribute & custome to be due, in saying, that therfoze you do pay tribute, foꝝ here in the ministers of God (namely foꝝ their ministerie, which is the preservation of the common wealth) be occupied: but this preservation asketh the helpe both of souldiers and other seruitours, not onely in warre, but also in peace. Although (considering indifferently) we finde that every magistrate continually do warre, whylest he punisheth cunning magistrates, theeves and pickers. And foꝝ so much

as such people as these, can not be suppressed  
 without the helpe of souldiers, and citizens:  
 By duetie we are bound to the maintenance  
 of suche assistance, to make contribution, &  
 when the greatnes of the daunger doth so re-  
 quire, to minister our further helpe to y<sup>e</sup> magi-  
 strate in that behalfe. And as officers sent to  
 apprehend runagates, are bound faithfully to  
 do y<sup>e</sup> same: so souldiers in time of warre, their  
 cities being beleeged, are bound faithfully to  
 defend the holdes committed to their charge  
 to the uttermost that they may. In this kind  
 of duetie, deserueth great commendations  
 in my countrie Bruta, situate aboue Spires, in  
 the territorie of the prince Palatine. For  
 it was defended by the citizens, with loyall  
 fayth & great constancie, twice within these  
 few yeres. Firste, in the yere of our Lorde  
 1504. beyng violently assaulted more then a  
 moneth together by a valiant armie of the  
 Switzers. After that, of late in the yere of our  
 Lorde. 1525. when the vplandishe people had  
 also stirred by an horrible commotion, and had  
 moued sedition generallie throughout all  
 Germanie, at what tyme my countreyne re-  
 mained in their allegeances towarde their  
 princes. And wheras the rebels had assem-



bled out of the landes of Spira & Wirtemberg, on both sides of the towne, to spoile the marchaundize, whiche were then to be carried from Franckford into Swenia (because that these rebelles had made the passage so dangerous) these marchaundizes were left with vs, and committed to the fidelitie & valiantnes of our countreymen. In this daunger the fayth & courage of my countreymen by and most manifestly appeare: for both those furious rebelles were repelled by force of armes from the towne, & those goodes (committed to their custodie) were to their great commendation defended agaynst all violence.

Feare and Honor, parteyneth to the mynde.

Feare, signifieth obedience from the heart.

Honor, signifieth not onely externall reuerence, but also a reuerence in the conscience. And here is a difference betwixt Christian men, and wicked men. For wicked men do onely feare the ciuill punishmentes, and this feare is soone slipp'd out of euill mens heartes: but Christian men do truely feare the magistrate, because they feare God, and for that they knowe hym to reuenge all crimes.

attempt agaynst the magistrate. Wicked  
 men shewe outwardly the signes of reue-  
 rence, but inwardly they thynke very yll  
 of the magistrates, as the Philosophers do  
 manifestly in their bookes, holdyng by disputa-  
 tion, that the publique state of gouernement  
 is but mere tyrannye. But the Christian  
 men do truly geue honoꝝ to the magistrate:  
 and herein standeth honour, to attribute to  
 them power, liberalitie, wysedome, and iu-  
 stice. And wheras Christian men be perswa-  
 ded, that all power is ordeyned of God, and  
 that it is maintayned from God aboue, they  
 acknowledge that power, and thinke that  
 they be bounde to geue place, and submit  
 themselues therunto. And they also acknow-  
 ledge that bounteousnesse, because they see  
 that mankinde hath bygh corporal benefites  
 of the magistrate, that is to say, peace, de-  
 liuerye of their owne life, of their wiues, of their  
 chyldren, and quietnesse to seeke foꝝ their ly-  
 uing, to learne religion, and other good sci-  
 ences. These be those great benefites, such as  
 none greater can be expessed in worldly causes:  
 foꝝ these, christian men geue thākes to god,  
 and because that he graunteth these thinges by  
 the magistrate. And agayne of their partie,

¶ III

they



they shewe thankfulness towarde the magistrates. And whereas they be perswaded that this power is ruled from God aboue, & that these benefites be geuen from thence, they pray to God for the magistrate, that he woulde vouchsafe to gouerne him, & to conserue the publique peace: for they know, that not onely wicked men, but also the deuils him selfe, lay in waight against princes, and that without ceasing, they practise the destruction of all mankind. Therefore this is the chiefe honor, whiche the onely christiane man attributeth to the magistrate, that is to say, Thankes geuing to our God, and prayer for the magistrate. As Hieremie geueth speciall precept in this cause, that the Iewes in their exile woulde pray for the kyng of Babylon, & all his whole kingdome. And Paul biddeth that we shoulde pray for the magistrate. And verily there is no greater or vehementer exercise of fayth amongst so many publique perils, than prayer for publique peace. And it is our part to vnderstand those perils, and to iudge them to parteyne to our selfe. Furthermoze, the christians attribute to the magistrates, wysedome, and iustice: that is, they do not preferre their priuate iudge

1. Cor. 2.

magistrates, before the lawes and decrees  
 wade the magistrate: but obey them. Thei quar-  
 about all not with them, they do not disanull the  
 hence lawes: and this honoz is most necessarie to  
 that the pulique peace, not to vse caustillation a-  
 to contraynst the lawes, noz enuiously to interpret  
 o, that is. Noz euer, hereto it belogeth to couer, to  
 deuytise, and to mitigate, the ouersightes of the  
 s, and lawes of the magistrates. This courteous  
 he deinterpretation, as it is necessarie in our pri-  
 this late cōuersation, so much moze is it necessa-  
 rissime in publike societie towards y magistrate,  
 it is that it is wrytten, Loue beareth al things, 1. Cor. 13.  
 praynd loue is the bonde of perfection, Coloss. 3.  
 euen to preuent all dissolutions of the  
 elwe common wealth. Agayne, Loue co- James. 5.  
 f Baereth the multitude of sinnes. 1. Pet. 4.  
 Pauaine, Obei your magistrates, though 1. Pet. 2.  
 magi they be rigorous. Rude and vnskillfull  
 o2 be men, are diligētly to be admonished in this,  
 o maren, are diligētly to be admonished in this,  
 liquat they quarrel not, noz chaunge the lawes  
 those publicke institutions. Father Ioseph  
 o ourse his sonne Cham, soz that he vncovered  
 ibutym and scorned hym: and euen so let them  
 since assured whiche depaue the lawes, they  
 nat which maliciously make the worst of the ma-  
 gistrates



they shewe thankfulness towarde the magistrates. And whereas they be perswaded of that this power is ruled from God aboue, & that these benefites be geuen from thence, laud they pray to God for the magistrate, that he would be vouchsafe to gouerne him, & to conserue the publique peace: for they know, that there are not onely wicked men, but also the deuyl himselfe, lay in waight against princes, and that without ceasing, they practise the destruction of all mankind. Therefore this is the chiefe honoꝝ, whiche the onely christian man attributeth to the magistrate, that is to say, Thankes geuing to our God, and prayer for the magistrate. As Hieremie geueth speciall pzecept in this cause, that the Iewes in their exile would pray for the kyng of Babylon, & all his whole kingdome. And Paul biddeth that we shoulde pray for the magistrate. And verily there is no greater or vehementer exercise of fayth amongst so many publique perils, than prayer for publique peace. And it is our part to vnderstand those perils, and to iudge them to parteyne to our selfe. Furthermoze, the christians attribute to the magistrates, wysedome, and iustice, that is, they do not preferre their private iudg-

1. Cor. 2.

iudgementes, before the lawes and decrees  
 of the magistrate: but obey them. Thei quar-  
 rel not with them, they do not disanull the  
 lawes: and this honoꝝ is most necessarie to  
 the pulque peace, not to vse caullation a-  
 gainst the lawes, noꝝ enuiously to interpret  
 the. Moreover, hereto it belōgeth to couer, to  
 excuse, and to mitigate, the ouersightes of the  
 lawes & of the magistrates. This courteous  
 interpretation, as it is necessarie in our pri-  
 uate cōuersation, so much moze is it necessa-  
 rie in publike societie to wards y<sup>e</sup> magistrate,  
 as it is wꝛitten, Loue beareth al things, 1. Cor. 13.  
 and loue is the bonde of perfection, Coloss. 3.  
 to preuent all dissolutions of the  
 common wealth. Agayne, Loue co- James, 5.  
 uereth the multitude of sinnes. 1. Pet. 4.  
 Agayne, Obei your magistrates, though 1. Pet. 2.  
 they be rigorous. Rude and vnskilfull  
 men, are diligētly to be admonished in this,  
 that they quarrel not, noꝝ chaunge the lawes  
 and publique institutions. Father Noe dyd  
 curse his sonne Cham, soꝝ that he vncouered  
 hym and scoꝛned hym: and euen so let them  
 be assured whiche depꝛaue the lawes, they  
 which malitiously make the woꝛst of the ma-  
 gistrates



gistrates ouersightes, that they be cursed of  
 God, and shalbe punished for this offence,  
 for that they geue not due honoꝝ to the lawes  
 and magistrates, and this slaunderous re-  
 prehension of lawes, ought the rather to be  
 eschewed, because it bringeth forth horrible  
 commotions in the common wealth. As  
 Xenophon prudently sayth, Al innoua-  
 tiōs in the cōmon wealth, to be very  
 dangerous. And Plato saith, As a man  
 ought not to vse any violence to his  
 father, beyng in dotage, so lykewyse  
 should there no extremitie be shew-  
 ed to the cōtrey in their weakenes.  
 For it is impossible, that great altera-  
 tions in common wealthes, shoulde  
 be ended without manslaughter.  
 Howbeit, when the magistrate doth com-  
 maunde, that we shoulde our selues do any  
 thyng agaynst the pꝛecept of God, obedience  
 is not to be geuen, but in this case, the rule is  
 to be folowed. VVe ought to obey god,  
 more than men.

Actes. 5.

To the reuerende fathers  
 in Christe D. Rob. Horne Bishop  
 of VVinchester. D. Ed. Grindal  
 Bishop of London. D. Ioh.  
 Parcuste B. of Norwiche,  
 his honozable Lordes, and  
 most deare bꝛethꝛen in  
 Englande.



Right reuerende honozable  
 Lordes and dearely beloued  
 bꝛethꝛen, the Lordē Iesus  
 blesse you, and pꝛeserue you  
 from all euyl. We sende  
 you here our opinion, con-  
 cerning matters of apparrell, wꝛitten to our  
 woꝛshipfull frende maister. J. and maister.  
 J. those godly and learned men. And soꝛ that  
 cause we sende it vnto you, that you might  
 vnderstande, we deale not with our bꝛethꝛen  
 priuily, without your knowledg, who are  
 the pꝛincipall and cheefe ministers, and that  
 so muche as in vs lyeth, we seeke the vnitye  
 and concoꝛde of your congregations, in all  
 respectes. And we heartely beseeche almighty  
 God, to haue a speciall regarde of your  
 estate,



estate, and to continue you in one consent and  
 unitie. We earnestly exhort you, ryght ho-  
 norable and deare bryethren, to be carefull for  
 those faythfull ministers and learned men  
 for they haue commonly their affections. For  
 which cause the apostle warneth vs, that one  
 helpe to beare anothers burthen. You maynto  
 by your auctoritie do very muche with thier  
 most noble Lady your Queene: bryng it the  
 fore to passe with her Maiestie, that our good  
 bryethren may be reconciled & restored againe.  
 And we also beseeche that you. D. Horne, our  
 good lord, and deare brother, that as soon  
 as these my letters may be deliuered, ye cause  
 them to be sent to the Bishop of Norwiche, or  
 to communicate them to. D. Jewel, to. D. Sar-  
 des, & to. D. Wilkinton, to whom also I pur-  
 pose to write at the next mart at Franckfort  
 by gods grace. These I haue writte in haste  
 aswel in maister Gualters name, as in myn  
 owne, sendyng them to Basile, from thence  
 to be conueyed to Antwarpe. And we hartly  
 desire you to sende vs word, whether ye haue  
 receaued them or no. Fare ye well ryght re-  
 uerende fathers. The Lorde blesse you, and  
 your labours. From Tigurine this thirde  
 of Maye. M. D. Lxvi.

H. Bullinger your  
 very frende.

# To maister. N. and. M.

**T**H E Lozde Jesu blesse you right woꝝ  
shipful and welbeloued bzethzen, and  
pꝛeserue you from all euyl. I haue re-  
ceaued your letters, in the whiche you  
seeme to complayne, that my answer  
unto your question was ouer short and bzief.  
Wherly my bzother, I saw no cause then, ney-  
ther do I see any yet, why I shoulde haue  
wꝛitten those letters any larger. For you on-  
ly required to knowe my iudgemēt, touching  
the matter of apparrel, for the which ye now  
contende in England. Unto which question  
I thought I shoulde answer in few woꝝdes:  
the, so muche as in fewe woꝝdes I coulde de-  
clare my iudgement. And then also I vnder-  
stoode, that. D. Peter Martyr, of most happie  
remembꝛaunce, handled the same question at  
laste Oxfoꝝde, and heare to many tymes at large,  
whereto I could say no more. And I remem-  
ber also, that in my letters vnto you, bzother  
I made mention of my opinion herein.  
And that I may now speake a woꝝde or  
two waine what I thinke hercof: Surely, I like  
not in any wyse, that (yf ye were commaun-  
ded) ye shoulde say seruice at an aulter, rather  
burthened, then beautified with the image of  
a cꝛis-



Casula.

a crucifixe in massing apparrell, that is, in  
albe, & in a vestment, which hath the picture  
of Christ crucified hanging on the backe. And  
so farre as I can perceaue by my letters recou  
ned out of Englande, there is no content  
now of any such garment. But I question

Whether it be lawfull for Ministers of the Gospel to weare a round  
cap or a square, or to put on a white  
robe called a surplesse, whereby the  
Minister may be decerned from the  
vulgar sort? And whether a Minister  
ought rather to leaue his holy  
calling, then to weare such apparrell

Touchyng whiche question, I wrote  
mynde the last mart, vnto the reuerende  
ther my lord. R. Horne B. of Winchester  
briefly repeating. D. Martyrs wordes. My  
felowe minister and welbeloued kynsman  
D. Rodolphe Gualter, wrote vnto hym al  
not long befoze, a coppie wherof I sende he  
inclosed vnto you, and to the rest of our bre  
thren. Wherefoze, yf ye wyll heare vs, and  
desirous to know our iudgement concern  
this matter of apparrell, as you signified  
to me the last mart you were: loe you haue  
our iudgement in that Epistle, wherunto

it is, in wyll not agree, we are heartily sozie: and  
 e picting we haue none other counsell, we moste  
 cke. Partly and incessantly pray to god, who is  
 rs recall thynges, and at all tymes to be called  
 ntent, that he vouchsafe by his holy grace and  
 estionwer, to comfort and helpe our miserable  
 Mi ate.

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Our brother. P. proposed a fewe such ques  
 ons: but our brother. P. heaped together a  
 eat many more of the same argument. Al  
 t I, according to my simple skil, did neuer  
 owe to haue matters distracted into so  
 many questions, and to be entangled with so  
 many doubttes, which other wyse bring more  
 gle by them selues, myght be more easly  
 solued: yet notwithstanding, I wyl write  
 wne a lytle to euerye one of them, that  
 rein also I may satisfie you my worshipful  
 d deare bethzen, as muche as lyeth in my  
 nder utteraunce, & rather dull, then quicke  
 d sharpened wit. And I beseeche you, that  
 ou woulde accept in good part this my do  
 g, as of your brother, & one that unfained  
 loneth you, & to iudge therof with a quiet  
 ynde, boyde of all affections. For my part  
 otterly abhorre all contentions, and de  
 re nothyng more humblye of almyghtie  
 od, then that it might please him to remoue  
 all



all dissention & strife farre from this Church  
 whiche from the first beginning hath ma-  
 ueylously hurt true godlynes, and as it tooke  
 tozne and rent the Church in peeces, was  
 it neuer so quiet and flourishing.

VWhereas it is demaunded, whether  
 their lawes ought to be enioyned  
 Ecclesiasticall persons for wearyng  
 apparrell, that thereby they may be  
 knowen from the lay people. I answer,  
 that there is ambiguitie and doubt  
 the worde, ought: for in case it be vnder-  
 stood for that whiche is necessarie, and  
 parteynyng to euerlastyng lyfe, I suppose  
 the lawmakers them selues do not so vnder-  
 stande or meane it. But yf it be sayde that  
 may be done for comlynes and decencie, and  
 for dignitie and orders sake, that it should be  
 but a ciuill obseruation, or some suche lyke  
 thyng, as is that wherein the apostle wyte-  
 haue the minister or Bishop *κόσμιον*, that is  
 modest, or comlye, I do not see howe he  
 sendeth, which weareth suche a garment,  
 is commaunded to weare it.

VWhether the ceremoniall attyre  
 or worshipping of the Levitical  
 priesthoo

priesthood, be to be brought agayne  
 into the Church: I aunswere, That yf a  
 rap or a seemely garment, without supersti-  
 tion be commaunded to be woꝛne by a mini-  
 ster, no wyse man wyl saye, that right Ju-  
 daisme is bzought in agayne. Moreover here  
 I repeate the same, that I see Peter Martyr  
 hath aunswered, who when he had shewed  
 how the sacramentes of the olde lawe were  
 quite abolished, which we ought not to bring  
 agayne into the Church of Chryste, hauing  
 nowe Baptisme and the Lordes Supper, in  
 steede of them, thus he sayth. There were  
 notwithstanding in the Leuiticall lawe cer-  
 tayne actions of that nature, whiche coulde  
 not properly be called sacramentes, for they  
 serued to decencie, order, and some commodi-  
 tie, which as agreeable to y<sup>e</sup> lyght of nature,  
 and also profitable for our commoditie, I  
 suppose may both be brought in, and also re-  
 teined. Who seeth not, that for mainteining  
 peace, and for that the saythfull myght the  
 better lyue together, the Apostles commaun-  
 ded the Gentiles to absteyne from that is  
 strangled, and from blood. No doubt these  
 were thinges belongyng to the Leuiticall  
 lawe. Furthermore, no man is ignorant  
 that tithes are appoynted at this day to su-



Keyne ministers. It is euident that Psalmes  
 & Hymnes are now songe in holy congrega-  
 tions and meetings, whiche notwithstanding the Leuites also vsed. And that I le-  
 not this passe neither, we haue holy dayes in  
 remembraunce of Chyristes resurrection, and  
 suche lyke. Shall all those be abolished, be-  
 cause thei are tokens and reliques of the old  
 lawe? You see therfore, al thinges of the Le-  
 uitical lawe are not so abrogated, that none  
 of them may be vsed. Thus farre. P. Martyr.

VVhether we maye weare suche  
 apparrell, as the papistes do? I aun-  
 swere. We may, so long as it is not proued  
 that the Pope brought in the differences of  
 garments. Nay it is manifest, the difference  
 of apparrell is moze anciēt then the Pope is.  
 Neyther do I see any cause, why we may not  
 go as the papistes do in apparrell, whiche is  
 not superstitious, but of pollicie, and for con-  
 lynesse sake. If we shoulde haue nothyng  
 common with them, then must we forsake al  
 our Churches, refuse all lyuinges, not mini-  
 ster baptisme, not say the Apostles or Nicene  
 creede, yea and quite caste away the Lords  
 prayer. Neyther do you bozo we any ceremo-  
 nies of them. The matter of apparrell was  
 neuer taken away at the beginning of refor-  
 mation.

mation, & is yet reseyned, not by the Popes  
 lawe, but by the kynges commaundement,  
 as an indifferent thing of meere pollicie. Pea  
 truely, if you weare a cap or a peculiar kynde  
 of apparrell, as a ciuill and politike thing, it  
 smelleth neyther of Iudaisme, nor Monas  
 chisme: For these wil seeme to separate them  
 selues from the ciuill and common lyfe, and  
 account a meritorious deede in the wearyng  
 of a peculiar garmēt. So Eustachius Bishop  
 of Sebastia, was not simply condemned for  
 wearyng a peculiar kynde of garment: but  
 for that he put religion in his garment. The  
 canons of the counsell of Gangren, Laodis  
 cen, and of the. vi. counsell, are well known.  
 If in case any of y<sup>e</sup> people be perswaded that  
 these thynges sauour of Papisme, Monas  
 chisme, or Iudaisme, let them be tolde the co  
 trarie, and perfectly instructed therein. And  
 if so be, thzough the importunate crying out  
 hereon befoze the people by some men, many  
 be disquieted in their conscience, let them be  
 ware whiche so do, that they bying not grea  
 ter yokes on their owne neckes, & prouoke  
 the Queenes Maiestie, & bying many sayth  
 full mtnisters in suche daunger, as they can  
 not ryd them selues out of agayne.

V. Whether these men, whiche hy-  
 therto



therto haue vsed their libertie, maye  
 nowe with safe conscience, bryng  
 them selues and their Church into  
 bondage, through the commaunde-  
 ment of the prince? I aunswere thus. I  
 thinke thei ought to take heed, lest by odious  
 disputing, exclaimyng, and stryuing for ap-  
 parrell, and by this importunate dealyng, oc-  
 casion be offered to the princes Bastie, not  
 to leaue the matter any léger in their choise,  
 who haue hitherto vsed this libertie, & that  
 the being incensed with necessarie clamours,  
 commaunde them eyther to weare that ap-  
 parrell, or to geue over their charges. Truly  
 it seemeth very straunge vnto me (be it spo-  
 ken, my woorthypful and deare brethzen, with-  
 out your offence) that you so perswade your  
 selues, that you can by no meanes with a safe  
 conscience submit your selues and your con-  
 gregations to the bondage of apparrell, and  
 do not rather way with your selues, if ye re-  
 fuse to weare a thyng meere politike and in-  
 different, and odiously contende alwayes,  
 vnto what maner of bondage you submit  
 your selues and your churches, who leauyng  
 your charge, expose your Churches to violen-  
 ces, or at the lest wise to vnfit teachers, who

are not so able to edifie the people, as ye your  
 selves are. Do you set your churches at liber-  
 tie, when you minister occasion to oppresse  
 them with moze and with greater burthens?  
 You knowe wel inough after what a great  
 many seeke, how they are affected towarde  
 the preaching of the Gospell, and what they  
 woulde proue, if they succede you, and what  
 we may hope for at their handes.

Whether the apparrell of the  
 Cleargie, be a thyng indifferent?  
 Surely it seemeth to be an indifferent thing,  
 in so much as it is a mere civil thing, appoin-  
 ted for decency, seemelines, & for order, wher-  
 in is put no religion. This muche I thought  
 good to answer briefly vnto your questions,  
 my learned and louing brother. R. Nowe I  
 come to our brother. Q. questions, in dissol-  
 uing whereof, perchaunce I wyll be moze  
 briefe. Whether a particuler kynde of ap-  
 parrel, differying from the lay men, were euer  
 appointed for ministers of the Church?  
 And whether in these dayes, it may be ap-  
 pointed in reformed Churches? I answer.  
 That in the auncient Church, there was a  
 particuler fashion of apparrell for Priestes.  
 It appeareth in the Ecclesiasticall historie of  
 Theodozet. li. 2. ca. 2. 7. & of Socrat. li. 6. ca. 22.



Pallium

Birrum.  
Dalma-  
tica.

Pallium

No man is ignorant, which hath but lightly  
read ouer the monumentes of the auncient  
fathers, but that the ministers used a cloke in  
their seruice. And therefore I said before, that  
the diuersitie of garmentes had not his ori-  
ginall of the Pope. Eusebius citeth out of  
the auncient writers, that S. John the Apo-  
le ware on his head a lease, or thinne plate  
lyke vnto a Byshoppes miter. And Pontius  
Diaconus witnesseth of S. Cyprian the mar-  
tyr, that when he offered his necke to the ex-  
ecutioner, he first gaue hym his cap, and then  
deacon his upper garment, and so stode ap-  
parreled in white linnen. Moreover, Chrys-  
ostome maketh mention of whyte apparrell  
of ministers. But it is certayne, that when  
the Christians turned from their paganism  
to the Gospell, in steade of golwes, they put  
on clokes: for the which beyng afterwarde  
mocked of the infidels, Tertullian wrote  
very learned booke, De pallio. I could bring  
more stufte of this sort, yf this sufficed not.  
In dedde I had rather no apparrell were  
layde vpon the ministers against their will,  
but that they used the custome of the Apo-  
stles. But in so muche as the prince commaund-  
eth the cap, and the surplesse, wherein (as  
haue often saide) he putteth no religion, and

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the the same thing hath ben bled amongst  
the olde fathers without superstition, or of-  
fence, whyle the Church was as yet in bet-  
ter estate: I would not wishe good ministers  
to account the forwardnesse of religion to be  
cheefly in these thinges, but to yeelde some-  
what vnto the tyme, & not to braule conten-  
tiously in matters indifferent, but to iudge  
with modestie, that these things may be, and  
that we must go forward according to the  
tyme: for they are nearer the Apostles sim-  
plicitie, who know of no such distinction, nor  
do vrgē it, but yet in the meane whyle do not  
refuse discipline in their apparrell.

Whether the prescribing of ap-  
parrell, be agreeable with Christian  
libertie? I answer. That indifferent things  
may sometymes be prescribed, yea, and also  
constrayned to, as I may terme it, as tou-  
ching the vse, but not as of necessitie, that is,  
that any indifferent thyng of his owne na-  
ture shoulde be forced to a mans conscience,  
and thereby a kynde of religion charged to  
his conscience. The times and places of holy  
assemblies, are rightly accounted to be indis-  
ferent: and yet if there be no order prescribed  
therein, I pray you what confusion and mis-  
order woulde ryse hereby?

what is  
meant by  
necessitie.



Encoen-  
nia.

VWhether any new ceremonies may be increased, besides the expresse worde of God? I answer. That I like not with increasing of new ceremonies, and yet I will not deny, but y new may be devised, so that there be no worshippng of God placed in them, and that they be appoynted for order and discipline. Christe hym selfe celebrated the feast of ceremonie of the dedication, & yet we reade not, that the same feast was commaunded by the lawe. To be short, the greater part of those propositions or questions touchyng matters of apparrell, do stande on this point. VWhether any lawe ought or may be made in the Church, touching apparrell? And so y question is brought to this general proposition, that is, VWhat is lawful to be decreed cōcerning ceremonies? Unto these questions I briefly answer. That I woulde haue no ceremonies brought into the Church, but such as are necessarie: yet in the meane season I confesse, that the lawes touchyng these ceremonies, which perhance are not necessarie, & sometyne vnprofitable, may not by and by be condemned of wickednesse, so that factions and schismes be stirred vp in the Church, for so muche as they are without superstition, and thinges of their owne

may stone nature meere indifferent.

Whether it be lawfull to renue the customes of the Iewes, being abrogated, and to translate the rites proper to idolatrous religion from them, to be vsed in reformed Churches? Touching this question, I answered before, when I spake of Leuiticall rites and ceremonies. But I wil not in any wise haue the ceremonies of Idolaters, not purged from their superstition & errors, translated into reformed Churches. And agayne on the other side, it may be asked, whether the re-creaued customes, after the superstition is taken away, may be for discipline and orders sake, reteyned without sinne?

Whether conformitie or agreemēt in ceremonies, be to be required of necessitie? I answer. That the agreement of ceremonies in al Churches, peraduenture is not necessary. In the meane time, if a thing be vnecessarie, whiche yet is not wycked, be commaunded, therefore we may not forsake the Church committed to our charge. There was not the like fashon in ceremonies in all the auncient Churches: and yet those which vsed conforznable ceremonies, despised not those



those whiche were without the same. I easily beleue, that wyse & polittike men do bring a conformitie in ceremonies, because they thinke this wyl mainteyne conoord, and because the Church throughout all England is one: wherein if there be no wicked thing mixt withall, I can not see howe you can easily object any thing agaynst suche good orders.

VVhether ceremonies ioyned with open offence, maye be retayned or no? I answered. That all offence must be auoyded, but in the meane whyle, we must beware lest we conceale, and cloke our owne affectiōs vnder the colour of offences. You knowe there is one kynde of offence geuen, and an other kinde taken, and wylfully procured. Here I wyl not dispute, whether you without great offence geuen, can forsake your Churches, for the whiche Christe dyed, and that for a matter of indifferencie.

VVhether that any constitutions of men, are to be tollerated in the Church, which albeit they are not wicked of their owne nature, yet do helpe to edification neuer a whit. I answered. That yf the constitutions, which

If the princes Maieſtie would enioyne you to,  
 be without impietie, you muſt rather beare  
 the with them, then forſake your Churches. For  
 beſt edifying the Church, be cheefly to be con-  
 ſidered in this behalfe: ſurely then in lea-  
 uing the Church, we ſhall more deſtroy it,  
 then in wearing apparrell. And where there  
 is no impietie, nor the conſcience is not offen-  
 ded, there ought we not geue ouer our voca-  
 tions, although there be ſome kynde of ſerui-  
 tude therby laied vpon vs. And in the meane  
 tyme, it may be a queſtion, whether we may  
 rightly comprehend the matter of apparrell  
 vnder the name of bondage, in reſpect that it  
 ſerueth for comelineſſe and order:

Whether the prince maye pre-  
 ſcribe any thyng touchyng ceremo-  
 nies, without the wyll and free con-  
 ſent of the Cleargie? I aunſwere. That  
 if the prince ſhoulde alwayes tarrye for the  
 conſent of the Cleargie: perchaunce thoſe  
 moſt wyſe and godly kinges Joſaphat, Eze-  
 chias, Aſa, and Joſias, with other good prin-  
 ces, ſhoulde neuer haue brought the Levites,  
 and Miniſters of the Church, into good or-  
 der. Albeit I woulde not wiſhe in any wyſe,  
 that Biſhops ſhoulde be excluded from con-  
 ſultations



sultations concerning matters of the church. Neither woulde I agayne haue them challenge vnto them selues that power, which they blurped agaynst princes & magistrates in the tyme of poperie. Lykewylse I woulde not haue Bishops kepe silence, and geue consent to wicked statutes of princes.

The two latter questions touche the matter moze narrowly.

VVhether it be more conuenient to serue in the Church after this manner, or rather therefore to be deprived of Ecclesiasticall function? And agayne.

VVhether good pastours may be iustlye put from the ministerie, for such kynde of ceremonies? I answered. That if there be no superstition in suche ceremonies, nor any vngodlynnesse, and yet notwithstanding they are layed on good pastours, which had rather they were not so layed vpon them, I wyl grant in deede, & that frankly, that there is a burthen and a bondage layed on them, but yet I will not graunt (so: very good causes to) that therefore their charge and ministerie is to be forsaken, and their place left vnto wolues, (as I sayde before)

to other vnniete ministers: especially,  
the the libertie of preachyng remayneth  
free, and that there be heede taken, lest grea-  
ter seruitude be thrust vpon them, with suche  
other thinges of this nature.

Thus haue I spoken those thinges which  
I thought meete, concerning these propoun-  
ed questions, knowing right well that o-  
ther men accoꝝdyng to their learning, might  
haue discuffed the matter muche better, and  
more eloquently. But because it was  
our wylls I shoulde make aunswere, I  
haue done what I coulde, leauyng the mat-  
ter free vnto other mens iudgement & wy-  
lyng. That whiche remayneth, is, that I  
would not haue any mans conscience vrged,  
, for soe: but I put forth these thinges to  
be examined, and I warne al men, that none  
in this controuerſie frame hym selfe a consci-  
ence, because he wyl contende. And I also ex-  
hort you al in Christ Iesu our Lorde, sauour  
of his Church, our head & kyng, that euery  
one of you deeply consider with your selues,  
by which of these twayne he shall most edifie  
Christes congregation: whether if for order  
and comlynelle sake, he vse the apparrell as  
thing indifferent, which hitherto hath not  
little set forwarde the vnitie and profite of  
the



the Church: or els whether for a matter of  
 garnēt, he leaue his Church to be possesse  
 if not of wolues, yet of verye vnmeete and  
 naughtie ministers. The Lorde Jesu graunt  
 you grace to see, vnderstande, and folow the  
 whiche tendeth to the setting forth of his  
 glorie, and the Churches peace and tranqui-  
 litie. Fare ye well in the Lorde, with al oth-  
 er faythfull ministers. We wyl pray diligently  
 vnto God, that ye may thinke and do the  
 thinges whiche are wholesome and holy.  
 Gualtherus commendeth him most heartily  
 vnto you, and wisheth you all prosperitie,  
 do also the rest of the ministers. From Ti-  
 gure the kalendes of May. The yere of our  
 Lorde. M. D. Lxxj.

Henrie Bullinger, Mi-  
 nister of the Church  
 at Tigure, in Maister  
 Gualtherus name and  
 his owne.

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Doctissimo viro. D. Martino Buccro, Theologiae in Academia Cantabrigiensi professori Regio, Thomas Cantuariensis.



After my hartie salutations, ryght welbeloued Master Bucer, I haue read that booke which ye haue sent to Doctour Peter Alexander, concerning the controuerisie betwixt M.

Doper and the Bishop of London: in which booke, many thinges are learnedly declared, and largely disputed. Wherefore now I pray you, that ye would send vnto me your iudgement of these questions expessed, with as short breuittie of wordes as ye can.

VVhether without the offence of God, it maye be lawfull to the Ministers of the Church of Englande, to vse those vestures whiche at these

At

dayes



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dayes they weare, and so be prescribed of the magistrate.

Whether he that shal affirme that it is vnlawfull, or shal refuse to weare this apparrel, offendeth agaynst god, for that he saieth that thing to be vncleane that God hath sanctified: and offende agaynst the magistrate, for that he disturbeth the politike order.

To these questions, yf ye wyll make most bryefe answers, and sende vnto me your iudgement as soone as ye may possibly,

you shall do me great pleasure. God

be with you. From Lambeth

the seconde of De-

cember.

*The aunswere of. M. Bucer*  
to the foresayde letters.



After I had receaved yester-  
day towarde nyght, the let-  
ters of your most Reuerende  
fatherhood, immediatlye I  
applied my mynde to aun-  
swere, bearing in remembrance what I owe  
vnto your fatherhood, especiallye in suche a  
matter, as is most agreeing to my ministry.  
Your fatherhood requireth of me, that I  
would write my sentence with as much bre-  
uitie of wordes as I coulde, to the questions  
proposed vnto me.

I muste needes confesse that I am verie  
hardely brought to vtter my iudgement to  
particuler questions in y<sup>e</sup> restitution of religi-  
on, speciallye such as be intricated with great  
controuerxies amongst godly men. For as  
the holy scriptures and dayly experience tea-  
cheth, Satan procureth all that he can, to set  
them together at variaunce with bitter con-  
tentions in the articles of doctrine and disci-  
pline of Christe, especiallye suche men who be  
godly stirred to receaue, and to restore the  
kingdome of Christ: whose godly endeoures



he labourereth, yf he can not make them quite  
 frustrate, yet by his sleight to hynder them,  
 whereby they shoulde not attempt a perfit  
 restitution of the Church, yf they ioyned to-  
 gether with their vttermoſt power. God re-  
 quireth of vs that we shoulde worſhypp hym  
 with all our heart, with all our ſoule, & with  
 our whole power, & that we shoulde at once  
 take vppon vs the ſweete yoke of his ſonne.  
 Therfore now he calleth vpon vs by the ter-  
 rour of his iudgement, where he hath ſent ſo  
 great lyght of his trueth, as at this day doth  
 appeare, whatſouer vnto warde wyll men  
 haue, that they can not playnely withdralve  
 them ſelues from his commaundementes, &  
 vtterly to reiect the yoke of his ſonne. Which  
 matter Satan vnderſtandeth well enough,  
 & he is not ignorant howe fayne we woulde  
 be gods by our firſt corrupted nature, and  
 howe we woulde gladly temper all religion  
 to ſerue our luſtes and affections, therebpon  
 he woulde perſwade men to go in a certayne  
 meane (whereas none can be in dede) that is,  
 that men may reſuſe and do ſome thynges at  
 their pleaſures to ſerue their only lord God,  
 which thynges yet he reputeth not ſo accep-  
 table in them ſelues, nor man hym ſelfe thin-  
 keth his affections to be bypſed by them: but

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in such thinges wherein the whole worship  
of God doth consist, & our whole saluation  
doth stande, our fleshe being the very lump  
of sinne and perdition, is wonderfully cruci-  
fied, so: that he can not make hym selfe God,  
qualifying and moderating Gods eternall  
preceptes. With this craftie sleight, hath  
that auncient enemye driven miserable Ger-  
manie vnto these present calamities, where-  
with they be now oppressed. God forbidde,  
Christ Iesus I say our only Saviour forbid,  
that he preyntleth agaynst Englands with  
this craftie subteltie. But now to the ques-  
tions according to my duetie.

Concerning the former, this is my sen-  
tence, whiche I beleue I haue learned of the  
holy Scriptures. First, I woulde not impart  
my answers to any ministers of the Eng-  
lish Churches, but to suche as be the true &  
saythfull dispensours of all the mysterie of  
God, suche as do labour to deliuer vnto the  
people, with great fidelitie, the whole gospel  
of Christ, his whole doctrine and discipline,  
and labour to instyll it and beate it into their  
myndes. They that be suche Ministers of the  
Churches of Englands, maye, as I thinke,  
weare with Gods pleasure, those vestures  
which be at this day in vse: and ther I thinke

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shall



shall do so muche the better after they haue  
 preached the cleare doctrine of Christ our sa-  
 uiour, with the detection and detestation, as  
 well of the whole Antichriste of Rome, as  
 of any other aduersarie to Christe: If they  
 then professe by the wearyng of these gar-  
 mentes, to haue no purpose at all to stablish  
 any wicked deuises that Antichriste hath ob-  
 truded to the people: For that Priestes be  
 them selues more holy, or more able to pac-  
 ifie God, then other Christian men be: For  
 that they present Christe to the father in the  
 holy communion (as they vse to affirme) or  
 that they can apply his merite at their plea-  
 sure, by the vertue of the worke it selfe to any  
 man, more then he doth receaue by his owne  
 proper fayth, of the wordes and sacramentes  
 of God. So that also he professeth, that he  
 thereby do not meane Aaronicall rites to be  
 restored againe: but that he doth by his fact,  
 performe only his obedience to the kynges  
 Maiestie, and to suche whom God hath ap-  
 poynted to determine of these externall rites  
 of the Church, with common consent by the  
 worde of God, to this ende, that all offences  
 of disorder, and breache of publique consent,  
 may be auoyded: And also to protest that eue-  
 ry creature of God is good to Godly men.

yea also for signification. And therefore all true Godly men, may godly vse those rites, whiche wicked men haue abused, howsoeuer vngodly.

And furthermore, to protest that they, neither the Kinges maiestie, nor the great council of the Realme, meane to retayne or to cherishe any superstition in vsing these vestures. But soasmuche as the vse of these vestures, hath ben practised godly of the right holy fathers, before the Pope was Antichrist of Rome, & may at this day serue to y setting forth of the holy ministerie, and of the whole Christian profession, to the instruction of the younger and simpler people, so that there be a godly signification ioyned therevnto, and the same also godly taught. And that they declare, that the rulers woulde not remoue these vestures, wherby they myght geue occasion to the weaker in the fayth, to despyse or contemne the true ministerie of Christe: or els to geue them any suspition by so doyng, as though they were led with a certaine irreligious leuitie, to ouerthrowe and abolishe all thinges vled before in religiō, yea of those thinges whiche may serue to some good vse.

And further, they may protest, that the people ought, in beholding these vestures,



to haue their meditation vpon no other thing  
 but vpon the heauenly puritie & bryghtnesse  
 and of the apparrelling of all good vertues  
 whiche be bothe set out, and also be exhibited  
 to all true beleuers, by the holy ministerie  
 the Church, and that both they and their mi-  
 nisters woulde labour withall diligence to  
 attayne to that bryghtnesse and comlynesse  
 that at length may shine in the vestures of  
 righteousness and saluation. And it behoueth  
 ministers to vse some garments, not only to  
 couer and to defende their bodies, but such  
 as may also haue some signification, and  
 may admonishe them of some thing.

Now therefore, soasmuch as it is thought  
 good to the Kinges Maiestie, & to the chief  
 counsell of the Realme, to reteyne the vse  
 these vestures for this present, they ought  
 to change the wicked abuse of the papistes,  
 these good creatures of God in them selues  
 to some godly vse, both to the glory of God  
 and to the honour of the Kinges Maiestie,  
 so openly to declare, that all thinges to holy  
 and good men, are holy and pure: And that  
 they be truely sanctified by the worde & pray-  
 er, so that neither deuyl nor man can defile  
 any creature of God, but that godly men  
 may vse them godly, & to the glorye of God

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yea even for some use of signification, not on-  
ly in the fruition of their naturall effectes.  
For all creatures may admonishe vs many  
wayes to consider the creatour, both of them,  
and of our selfe, and of our gratitude toward  
him, beside the consideration of his large  
liberalitie, in respect of their natural effects:  
And to these admonitions, they maye and  
ought publiquely be used. Whiche sentence  
of myne, I myght iustifie with diners Scrip-  
tures, besides the example of the Apostles,  
whiche dyd so long use Moyses ceremonies,  
and without any implette.

As concerning the second question, this is  
my sentence, gathered, as I beleue, out of holy  
Scripture. They which do say that it is not  
lawfull to use the apparrell that is in ques-  
tion, in any maner, yea in that maner which  
I haue described: I say, that they be at the  
least in error, for that they denie al thinges  
to be holy to them that be sanctified.

The same do I affirme of suche, which for  
the same cause wil not weare those vestures,  
soasmuch as the use of them is receaved, nei-  
ther vpon superstitious or lyght cause: but  
by the publique lawe of the Realme, and by  
the consent of the Churches. In dede the use  
of these vestures maye be forced by suche su-  
perstition



perdition to pleasure the Romane or any other Antichrist, as it is now in Germany, but that it can not be godly admitted of the godly ministers of Christe. For I muste needs say, that they take fro the godly Magistrate their due honour, which both deny that the iudgement ought to be folowed in these matters. Rom. 14. for that they do declare the vaine of these garments to be obserued of that consideration, which I haue a litle before described.


I trust your moste Reuerendefatherhood wyl beare al these things wel in worth. For to answere to briefly & to grossely, I thought it a great offere, especially for that I see with what art Satan doth resist, lest that at once the whole religion of Christe shoulde be restored amongst vs (as were necessarie) & as all godly Kinges hath done their diligent labour, according to Gods preceptes, and examples whiche he hath declared by Moyses, and Christe his sonne, whyles Satan goeth about to stirre vp so many pernicious contentions of all the circumstances of our religion, aswel in doctrine, as rites. For surely, except that we remove so horrible and manifest sacrileges and dishonouringes of God, wherby the whole kingdome of the sonne of God

God may be receaued, and we lowly submit  
 our neckes to his good yoke: And howe intolerable  
 wrath of god shalbe kindled agaynst  
 this Realme. The Scriptures be full of such  
 examples, as he doth now shew most terri-  
 ble vnto Germanie. Our Lord Iesus Christ  
 assist the Kinges Maestie with his holy spi-  
 rite, and be present with you the head fa-  
 thers of the Churches, & al the nobles of this  
 Realme, that ye may both knowledg and  
 embrace duetifully in time the dayes of your  
 wholesome visitation, and all other such  
 thinges in the whiche only standes  
 the peace and health of this  
 Realme. God preserue  
 your father-  
 hood.

At Cambridge, this  
 tenth of December.



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52  
To M. Martin Bucer, doc-  
tour in Diuinitie most worthy,  
his reader and maister most  
reuerende.



Grace and peace  
from the Lorde. &c.  
For what cause I  
am now in trouble  
(moste Reuerende)  
ye shal vnderstand  
it by this messen-  
ger, in writyng. I  
praye you that you

would bouchsafe once to geue it the reading,  
and yf that ye shall espye any errour therein,  
desyre you to signifie it vnto me by your  
letters. If anye thyng hath ben vttered to  
darkly, & with fewer wordes then the cause  
requireth, I pray you, that you woulde set it  
out in the margent, with moze light and ap-  
per wordes. If ye see the cause iust, and meete  
for a godly minister, subscribe therevnto in  
the ende I hartily pray you. I sende you also  
that I haue wrytten before thre yeres ago,  
upon the .x. preceptes, that your worthynesse  
may knowe what my iudgement is in the  
cause



cause of diuorſe, I praye you vouchſafe  
 reade it, that if I haue erred in this parte  
 humane ouerſight, I maye be aduertised by  
 your learning and fatherly admonition, and  
 that I maye reſourme the ſame. I praye you  
 fatherhood therefore (and I doubt not but  
 ſhall ſone obtayne) that you would helpe the  
 Church in her conſiſt, by the great and mo  
 notable giſtes of god vndoubtedly beſto  
 vpon you. I require the ſame of M. docto  
 Martyn, to whom (after your ſentence and  
 prudent iudgement is knowne) this me  
 ſenger whiche I ſende, ſhall repayre. **W**  
 Lozde Ieſus long preſerue your worthynes  
 At London the. xviij. of October. 1550.

Yours in heart and  
 prayer all whole  
 Iohn Hoper.

To the Reuerende and  
learned father, Iohn Hoper By-  
shop, his good Lorde.

Grace and peace through Iesus  
Christ our Lorde.

**R**ight Reuerende, and in Ie-  
sus Christ most dearely belo-  
ued, I had purposed to an-  
swere before this tyme unto  
the letters whiche of late I  
receaued from you: but I  
was so let with wayghtie and sundry busi-  
nesse, that I coulde not before now accom-  
plishe eyther myne owne will, or your expec-  
tation in this behalfe: wherfore I besech you,  
acordyng to your accustomed gentlenesse  
and wysedome, to take in good part this my  
delay. What ye haue written of the contro-  
uersie whiche is risen betwene you and the  
right reuerende Lorde. B. of London, as tou-  
ching the apparrell of ministers, I haue both  
read it, as your request was, & also consyder  
ed as attentiuely as I coulde for the shortnes  
of the time. I say shortnesse of time, because I  
could not retayne with me your writing but  
only



only one night. For the messenger who  
 tiered it vnto me, set forth the next day ear  
 in the mornynge towarde Cambridge, w  
 ther ye wylled me to send it (being once re  
 by him, vnto maister Bicer: Which thing  
 dyd, both diligently, and without all delay

In that litle tyme that I had to peruse y  
 wyting, I cōprehended so al the matter, t  
 euen at the firste I conceaued no small ioy  
 your singuler & earnest study, in that you  
 your endeuour that Christ his religion m  
 be bzought agayne vnto a chaste and sim  
 puritie. For what shoulde be moze desir  
 of all Godly heartes, then that all thing  
 by a litle & litle, should be cleane taken a  
 and cut of, whiche hath very litle o: noth  
 in them that can be referred wholly to ed  
 catiō, but rather be iudged of the godly to  
 superfluous. For to speake of my selfe, I  
 hardly draue from that simple and pure  
 home, whiche ye knowe they of Argent  
 haue bled euer, frō the tyme that they refo  
 med their Church, where diuersitie of app  
 rell in Church ministration was abolis  
 For I haue alwayes allowed that pure  
 sage that originally had imitation of the  
 postles Church. And I beseeche GOD  
 moztall, that this maner may both there

ner continue, and also that wheresoever  
 Christ his Church is reformed, it may at  
 length be recovered. You see that in the sub-  
 stance and chiefe point of the matter I  
 dissent not from you, nay I desire with all  
 my hart, that that thyng whiche you goe  
 about to bring to passe, may take place.  
 And the most especiall cause why I doe so  
 desire, is, partly so; that I would we should  
 come, as nigh as might be, to the holy  
 scriptures in rites and ceremonies, and  
 follow the example of the Church, when it  
 was in best case and state: partly so; that I  
 perceave that those that be geuen to popu-  
 lare, do goe about with these reliques to  
 mainteyne at least a litle spyle of Masse, &  
 to be geuen to them, more then the nature  
 of indifferent thinges do require. Not-  
 withstandyng, yet the consideration of these  
 matters do not so farre carry me, nor the  
 reasons alleaged by you so perswade me,  
 that I shoulde affirme the vse of such ve-  
 nuerables to be pernicious, or of theyr owne  
 nature contrary to Gods worde: For I do  
 utterly thynke it to be a thyng indifferent.  
 And I am not ignorant that such is the  
 nature of indifferent thinges, that at one  
 time they may be used, and at an other



time refused. To eat that is strangled, of  
 selfe is an indifferent thyng: yet it is meet  
 somtimes to refraine from the vse therof.  
 somtimes to vse it most freely. And in this  
 respect, though I haue saide this diuersitie  
 of church apparel is not to be retained: ne-  
 uerthelesse, it to be wicked, I neuer so iud-  
 ged, that I dare therefore condemne any  
 such whom I see vse it. For if I had ben  
 perswaded, I would neuer haue commun-  
 cated here in Englande with the Church  
 where such a choyle as yet is reserued. For  
 although as I saide, I do very litle allow  
 neuerthelesse I see somtimes in these in-  
 dferēt things that some of the although they  
 be greuous & burdenous (in that it is no  
 lawfull to do otherwise) must be patient-  
 ly suffered, lest if men should strine so, they  
 moze bitterly then it nedeth, that it would  
 be a let to the aduancement of the gospell  
 & also that those things which of their owne  
 nature be indifferent, though our heate  
 contentiō, should be taught to be meerly  
 wicked: Which two things, except I am decei-  
 ued, byng with them great and greuous  
 discommodities. For if we could be content  
 to suffer the Gospell first to be spred & depen-  
 dently to take roote, without all doubt, men  
 would better & easlier be perswaded to re-  
 mon

moue away these external rites. A man, so  
 long as he is sick, or is in his recovery, often-  
 times is muche grieved that certaine small  
 and tryflyng thynges parteynyng to his  
 meate and dyinke, should be debarred from  
 him, which yet afterward when he is fully  
 restored vnto his health, by him self & of his  
 owne accord without any other mans coun-  
 sel, doth renouice them, as vnnete & vnpro-  
 fitable. Wherefore, let Englande be first di-  
 ligently instructed, & confirmed in the chiefe  
 & most necessary poyntes of religion: then  
 afterwarde by my iudgement, the Church  
 shall not be muche offended to haue these  
 thynges, somewhat superfluous, to be re-  
 moued. But nowe where as alteration in  
 the most necessary poyntes of religion, is  
 laboured for, & that with so much difficul-  
 tie: yf nowe we pronounce those thynges  
 to be wicked, that be of themselves indiffe-  
 rent, so much would the most part of mens  
 mindes be alienated fro vs, that from that  
 day they woulde not find in theyr heartes,  
 neuer after to heare with a good wyl at our  
 handes sound doctrine, and instructions of  
 very necessary matter. Surely, Englande  
 is much bounde vnto you, in that ye haue  
 laboured more then a greate soyle hath,



in preaching and teaching. Likewise, in England you alreadie haue obteyned much fauour and great aucthoritie, whereby ye shall be able to do much good to the auancement of Gods glory. We must therefore take heede, lest ye stand in your owne way, contendyng to bitterly, and all out of tyme. Yet woulde I not haue you hereby gather, that my mynde is, that a Minister of Gods worde shoulde neuer contende for the maintenaunce of the truth and principles of Scriptures, I make no such assertion, who dayly aswell in publike as in private disputations, in waightie controuersies, do take a part against the aduersaries for true religion. But thys I say, we must take heede, lest these thynges which be of lesse importaunce, through our strife, may be the meanes that those thynges which should be esteemed of greater force and value, eyther can not at all be brought into the Church, eyther if they be once brought in, can not be established with continuance. Agayne, yf we holde on in dissuading these indifferent thynges, as pernicious, and altogether wicked, we condemne without very many Churches which haue receaued the Gospell, & blame to bitterly innumerable.

ble, which a great while ago were counted  
 worthy of all prayse. Neyther am I ignor-  
 rant, that the authoritie of Churches  
 that be nowe, or hath ben, ought not to  
 beare such a sway, that thereby the autho-  
 ritie of Gods worde should be trode vnder  
 foote: Which (although the whole world  
 should runne to wecke) ought to remayne  
 without touch of breste sure and vnicola-  
 ble: yet for all that I iudge we must take  
 heed, lest that for thinges indifferent, ey-  
 ther we condemne such Churches as be  
 now at this day, or thinke not wel of those  
 that haue ben long before our dayes. And  
 for because I perceaue that ye suppose these  
 thyngs not to be indifferent, peradventure  
 it shall not be amisse nowe for to examine  
 the reasons that so ledde you: and that (as  
 you do) I may do it in fewe wordes, I re-  
 duce þ chiefe matter to two chiefe pointes.  
 First of al, ye say that the Priesthood after  
 the order of Aaron, is not to be restored,  
 wherunto these diuersities of vestures seme  
 to pertain. For seeing we haue Christ to  
 be our Priest, Aarons ceremonies be vt-  
 terly abrogated, and therfore they cannot  
 be called agayne of those that meane well  
 and godly. The second foundation of your  
 reasons,



reasons, is, that these diuersities of vestures were inuented of Antichrist: therfoze we ought not only to forsake the Pope, but all his inuentions. Beside this, ye would haue all maner of difference of vestures & apparel of Ministers to be taken away. Wherfoze, seing these two be the cheefe strength of your argumentes, I wil first entreate of them. Afterwarde, I wyll adde whatsoeuer it be, if I can cal to my remembraunce any other thyng, brought in of you to confirme your opinion.

In Moses lawe of Priesthood, after Arons order, there were sacraments, with the whiche it pleased God to confirme (as I myght say, by putting his seale to them) the promyses made of Christ comming. I knowlege and do graunt, that all these thynges be abrogated, neuer to be brought in agayne: for we beleue that Christ is alredy come, and not that he will come. And we haue other seales in scripture deliuered to vs of Christ hym selfe in the Gospell, bread, wine, and water: therfoze we neede not cal agayne signes for this purpose vser in the olde Testament. Thers were also in that lawe other signes and actions so ordeyned, that they coulde not be properly called

called Sacraments, and yet they had some  
 respect to comeliness, to order, and to some  
 commoditie. And these I iudge may be re-  
 tained and retained, as things agreeing to  
 the light of nature, & inducing to some pro-  
 fitable vse. Who doth not see that the Apo-  
 stles, to the intent they that beleued might  
 liue more peaceably and quietly, did com-  
 mand the Gentiles to abstayne fro blood  
 and strangled: And yet these thyngs, with-  
 out all doubt, were fetched from the order  
 of Aaron, if ye will comprehend generally  
 all thynges whiche was in the olde lawe.  
 And there is none of vs ignorant, but that  
 the tenthes was fetched fro thence, which  
 now in our dayes be appoynted to find the  
 ministers of the church thowout Christe.  
 You cannot well proue by the scrip-  
 tures of the new Testament, that psalmes  
 & hymnes were song in the church at pub-  
 like service, which thing yet appeareth most  
 plainly to be done in y<sup>e</sup> old Testament. I wil  
 here omit that S. Ambrose in his expositio  
 upon the. xliiii. Chapter of the firste to the  
 Corinthians sayth moste playnely: that  
 the maner of prophesying which Paul tea-  
 cheth, was deriued out of the Synagoges,

¶

into



into our Churches. To these I could bring  
 forth other thyngs, and that not a few in  
 number (if tyme suffered me to consider di-  
 ligently the matter) which our Church  
 haue borrowed out of Moses decrees. And  
 that I may speake onely of holy dayes,  
 which we keepe in memory of our Lordes  
 resurrection, by:th and death of Christ, and  
 Pentecost: shoulde we therefore abolish  
 them, because they be the reliques of the  
 olde law: You see, as I suppose, by al these  
 thynges, how that not all that partyened  
 to the Priesthood of Aaron, is so abolished,  
 that nothyng of it may be retayned or ble-  
 of us at these dayes. For here ye shall not  
 by and by saye, that this is nothyng els  
 but to open a window to all abuses, as to  
 holy water, censinges in the Church, and  
 to infinite such other: For the aduersaries  
 wyll straght shape you thys answer.  
 First of all, that there must be limited a  
 measure in any case, as well of those that be  
 reserved, as those that shalbe brought a-  
 gayne into the Church. And secondarily,  
 that no opinion or vertue of religion is at  
 all to be attributed vnto them, contrary-  
 wise to that we see is done of the Papistes  
 in theyr holy water and censinges. Last of  
 all

all, there must good heed be taken, lest our  
Christian libertie be brought into some  
danger, which should be, in case if that  
such thynges as be reserved or restored, be  
appointed necessary meanes for to obtaine  
saluation. For so are such thynges to be  
brought in agayne, or to be tollerated, that  
they be layde away whē they appeare not  
to be put to good vse. And so it seemeth to  
me, we must do at thys tyme with thys di-  
uersitie of apparell, according as I decla-  
red my mynde besore. For I woulde, and  
now wyshe, that they were layde asidē: but  
forso much as yet hitherto it hath not pre-  
uayled (vntyll better may be) I thynke we  
ought to beare thē. And if it pleased God,  
I woulde that the Churches of Germany  
myght redeme their libertie with this one  
inconuenience, although I wyshe by all  
meanes, that no superfluous thyng should  
be forced vpon them. But let vs consider  
your other argument, that is to say: It is  
not lawfull to vse these kynde of vestures,  
because they were inuented of the Popes  
tyranny. In thys point I do not well per-  
ceiue how it may be affirmed for a suretie,  
that we can vse nothing that perteyned to  
the Pope, and is vsed in popery. Cruelly,  
we



we muste take good heed that we bring  
 not the Church of Christ into such bondage,  
 that it may not vse anye thyng that  
 the Pope bled. It is very true, that our fore-  
 fathers toke the temples of Idols, & turned  
 them into holy Churches, where Christe  
 shoulde be worshypped: And they toke al-  
 so the salarie and reuenues consecrated to  
 the Idolles of the gentiles, to their wicked  
 shewes and playes, and to theyr holy vota-  
 ries virgins, and transposed it to fynde the  
 Ministers of the Church: And yet al these  
 chynge dyd not only seruaice vnto Anti-  
 christ, but vnto the deuill. yea the holy Ec-  
 clestasticall wyters, dyd not stycke to take  
 the Hearles of Poetes, which had ben dedi-  
 cated vnto Pules, & to other diuers gods &  
 goddesses, so to be playde in playes, & spo-  
 ken in shewes, to obtayne the fauour of  
 their gods: I say they did nothing sticke or  
 feare to vse them, when it seemed to them  
 conuenient, imitating Paul the Apostle,  
 who stoode nothing at al to rehearse for his  
 purpose Menander, Aratus, and Epimeny-  
 des, and that he did in intreating the holys  
 scripture, applying prophane wordes, to set  
 forth Gods religion. We reade also how  
 that Wine was consecrated vnto Bacchus,

Bread vnto Ceres, Water vnto Neptune,  
 Wine vnto Minerva, letters vnto Mercurie,  
 Song vnto the Muses and vnto Apollo, &  
 many other thyngs Tertullian rehearseth  
 in his booke, entituled, De Corona militis  
 Christiani, where almost he entreateth  
 this selfe same argument. Yet so; all that,  
 we sticke not to vse al these thynges freely,  
 aswell in holye, as in prophane vses, al-  
 though at one tyme or other befoze, they  
 had ben consecrated to Idolles and to de-  
 uils. Howbeit, I wyl not graunt, that these  
 diuersities of vestures haue they; begyn-  
 ninges of the Pope, so; so muche as I  
 reade in the Ecclesiasticall Historie, howe  
 that Iohn the Apostle woze at Ephesus,  
 where he dwelled, a Byshoppes apparell,  
 tearmyng it, Petalum, seu lamina Pontifi-  
 calis. As touching Saint Ciprian the holy  
 Martir, Pontius the Deacon writeth, that  
 a litle befoze he should be beheaded, he gaue  
 vnto hym that was appoynted to behead  
 him, his vesture called Birrus, after he had  
 put it of, and to the Deacons he gaue his  
 other vesture called Dalmatica, and so  
 made in linnen. Chrysostome maketh men-  
 tion of the whyte vesture of the ministers

Euseb. li. 3  
 Cap. 21



In Mat.  
cap. 26.  
Hom 83.  
et ad po.  
Ant. Ho.  
60.

of the Church. Moreover, the ancient  
wryters declare unto us, that Christians  
when they came firste unto Christes religi-  
on, chaunged theyr apparel, & for a gowne,  
they dyd put on a cloke, for the which  
cause when they were mocked of the Gen-  
tiles, Tertullian wrote a very learned treatise,  
De Pallio, that is to say, of a Cloke.  
Neyther, as I take it, you be ignorant,  
that a whyte vesture was wonte to be ge-  
uen to them that were baptized. Wherfore  
it appeareth that before the Popes ty-  
rannye overwhelmed the Church, there  
was some maner of diuersitie of apparel  
in the Church. But be it so, let them be  
the inuention of the Pope, as you would  
haue it: yet notwithstanding, for the re-  
spect of the papisticall inuention therein,  
I can not be perswaded so muche impietie  
to be therein, that whatsoeuer it toucheth, it  
doth by and by so infect and corrupt, that  
it can not be lawfull for good & godly men  
to vse it godly. I suppose, ye vnderstand  
what my iudgement is, either in reseruing  
or bynggng in agayne the papisticall  
rites.

Nowe that I haue breefely gone ouer  
these two cheefe poyntes of your reasons

I come

I come vnto that whiche ye also graunt:  
 That al thynges inuented by man, be not  
 forthwith to be reiected & condemned. For  
 what is it els but mans inuentton, that  
 we communicate at the Loxdes table, ra-  
 ther in the moynng, then when we haue  
 dyned? It was also denyed by man, that  
 the valie of suche thynges as was to be  
 diuided in the p[ri]matide Church, were  
 layde at the feete of the Apostles. I graunt  
 with you, that these choyses of apparell  
 do not of it selfe edifie: And yet for all that,  
 other men wyl iudge it expedient that  
 they be tollerated for a tyme, as though  
 peradventure by that meaner, these con-  
 tentions wyl be auoyded, by whiche it is  
 in hazarde lest greater benefites and more  
 ample commodities be hyndered, and  
 (as we see it falleth out) lest mens myndes  
 be withdrawen from the Gospell. I wyl  
 not here saye, that they whiche stande to  
 the defence of this matter, may pretende  
 some honest and iust signification of the  
 apparell, and that not dissenting from the  
 worde of God, whiche is this. The min-  
 isters of the Church (as the prophete Isa-  
 iahie witnesseth) be Angels and Gods  
 messengers: but Angels for the moste part  
 appea-



appeared, being clothed in white garments. I pray you, how shal we debarre the church of this libertie, that it can not signifie some good thing, in setting forth their rites and ceremonies, especiall ye being so done, that no maner of Gods honour is attributed vnto them, & that they be in sight comely, and in number fewe, and that Christian people be not with them ouer burdened, & matters of greater importance be omitted. peraduenture you will say to me, Let ministers of the Church declare them selues to be angels, & not represent angels by signification. But Paul the apostle might haue ben answered, when he taught the Corinthians that it was meete that a woman should haue her head couered, & a man his head vncouered, brgyng it only in respect of signification. For some man of the Church might haue answered him, saying, Let a man declare him selfe to be head of his wife, & let a wife declare her self to be subiect vnto her husband, not in signes, but in deedes and conuersation. But yet Paul iudged it a meete & a profitable thing, that both of them, aswell the man as the woman, should be monished of theyr duetie by such a signe or action. For by such signes and

and meanes, we be stirred vp to do our office & duetie, for they bring into our mindes that whiche is decent for vs to do. And yet hereby the weakelynges take an occasion of errour, let them be monyshed that they be but indifferent thinges, and let them be taught, that no part of Gods honour and religion is placed in them.

Now, whether the eyes of them that be present, be turned cleane away from thinking of serious matters, because of the diuersitie of apparell, peradventure euery man will not graunt it. Firste the aduersaries may aunswere, that this shall not follow, if such apparel be appointed that hath no gorgeousnesse, but is playne, and vsed befoze in the Church: For no man marvelles at those thynges that be dayly vsed, and of small value. Nay it is moze lyke, that men beyng stirred with the reuerence of them, shall haue theyr cogitations moze attentiuely vpon serious thinges: for the externall partes of the sacraments, seeme to be instituted to this ende, that we euen of the very syght, and of our externall sensis, shoulde be inwardlye moued to haue contemplation of diuine thynges.

Neither



purther suppose I by and by a tyrannye  
 to be brought in, yf anye thyng that is in-  
 different shoulde be receaved into the  
 Church to be done, and that many shoulde  
 constantlye observe the same. Nowe a  
 dayes we do minister the Lordes supper in  
 the mornynge, so that we wyll not receave  
 at all after dynner in the publique congrega-  
 tion. But who wyll say that this fa-  
 voureth of anye tyrannye, whiche we all  
 do with one wyll and consent? Truelye  
 it woulde please me rather, (as I haue of-  
 tentymes rehearsed) that we shoulde only  
 do those thynges that Ch:iste dyd, and  
 Paul deliuered: but yf there be some in-  
 different thynges added, I would not now  
 therfore greatly contend, especially soz as  
 much as we see that they by whō the light  
 of the Gospel is much aduanced in Eng-  
 lande, and dayly may be moze aduanced,  
 do take part agaynst vs. I graunt with  
 you, that al which is not of sayth, is sinne:  
 Neuerthelesse, that which is wrytten of S.  
 Paul to Titus, semeth greatly to serue for  
 to ease and quiet the conscience, that is: Al  
 things are clene to the clene. And to Timo-  
 thy: Every creature is good. For it is not  
 necessarily required that we should proue  
 every

Tit. 1. 1.

1. Tim. 4. 2.

euery particuler thing which we vse, to be exp-  
ressely mentioned in the Scriptures. It is  
enough generally to know this sayth: That  
indifferent things can not corrupt those that  
be of a pure mynde and sincere conscience in  
their doynges.

These thynges haue I briefly gathered to-  
gether, as touching the controuersie whiche  
ye proposed vnto me, out of the which, I be-  
seeche God with all my heart, that ye maye  
shift your handes well of. And I desyre you  
to take in good part that I haue written: for  
if I coulde haue answered eyther more sub-  
stantially, or more plainly, I would haue sa-  
tisfied your request to my power. But forbe-  
cause it is not graunted to euery man to write  
handsomely and redely of these matters, you  
must nedes pardon me. And assure your selfe  
further of this one poynt, that I am redy  
nowe and at all tymes to beleue the trueth,  
when I shall be otherwayes instructed. In  
the meane season, thynke ye not that this  
iudgement which here I haue declared vnto  
you, was but nowe first perswaded vnto me.  
For euen from the begynnyng, since that I  
applied my selfe vnto the Gospel, my minde  
was, that this difference of vesture should be  
taken away, but yet so, that I dyd not iudge



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it of their owne nature either wicked or per-  
nitious. I beseeche God almyghtie to pre-  
serue you safe and sounde, with al your  
householde, through Christs  
Jesus our  
Lorde.

Farewell. At Orforde, the fourth of  
November. 1550.

Yours both in  
minde and spi-  
rite wholly, Pe-  
ter Martyr.

*Amplissimo domino & Co-  
lendissimo Symmistæ Ioanni  
à Lasco.*

¶ The Lorde graunt vnto vs in these  
troublesome times of the Church,  
to begin and finishe al thinges, that  
offences and daungers be not en-  
creased, Amen.

**T**he more diligently I weygh  
& consyder, both what fruite  
we may gather by this con-  
trouersie of vestures, and also  
what Sathan goeth about  
thereby to worke: I woulde

haue wished befoze the Lorde, that it neuer  
once had ben spoken of, but rather that all  
men of our function had agreeablye & stout-  
ly gone forwarde and continued in teaching  
true repentaunce, the wholesome vse of all  
thynges, yea in commendynge and puttyng  
on the apparrell of saluation. I see not in  
a fewe (alas I saye) I see marueylous di-  
ligence in abolyshyng Amelech, concer-  
nyng stones, stockes, vestures, and those  
thynges that be without vs: when in their

I i

deedes



deedes & whole lyfe they most stidye retayne  
 the whole Amelech styll. I knowe also some  
 that helpe foze ward this strife, so that in the  
 meane tyme the chiefe and moſte neceſſarie  
 poyntes are leſſe regarded and called vpon,  
 that is : of remouyng ſacrilegious perſons  
 from ſpoylyng of Churches: of prouydyng  
 ſyt-ministers foꝛ euery pariſhe: of the reſto-  
 ring of diſcipline againe. As foꝛ my part, if I  
 thought thoſe ceremonies and veſtures were  
 impure of them ſelues, I woulde not take  
 vpon me in any wyſe the office of a Biſhop,  
 vntyll by ozdinarie aucthoꝛitie they were ta-  
 ken away. &c. But to the purpoſe. I thinke it  
 not impertinent vnto this matter, that we  
 all be admoniſhed to take heede of Satans  
 accuſtomed ſleyghtes, wherby he leadeth vs  
 away from the care of neceſſarie thinges, to  
 the carefulneſſe of thoſe thinges whiche may  
 be well let paſſe, and from the ſearchyng out  
 of the true doctrine of Chriſt, to induce to vs  
 thoſe thinges, wherein ſewe can conſent a  
 like, and finally, by the which he kindleth in  
 diuers men a zeale to purge thoſe thinges  
 which are without vs, therby to neglect our  
 inwarde deformities. And ſeyng whatſoener  
 we do either in word oꝛ deede, both priuately  
 and publiſhly, we ought to do it in the name

B. 5. 1. 83

of our Lorde Iesu Christ, getting thanks by  
him to god the father: Surely it is our duety,  
no lesse circumspectly to beware that we nei-  
ther do noꝛ leaue vndone any thyng, wherof  
we haue not sure oꝛ certayne auctoritie out  
of Gods woꝛde, touching our actions and  
matters domesticall and Ecclesiasticall. It is  
alwaye and in all thinges sinne, whatsoener  
is not of fayth of the certayne woꝛde of God.

But to consyder this question in it selfe, I  
haue, accordyng to my gyft, weyghed your  
reasons, and yet I can perceaue no other, but  
that the vse of all externall thinges, aswel in  
holy ceremonies, as in priuate matters,  
ought to be left free to the Churches of God.  
I call that free vse, wherein godly men vse  
thinges created of God without any super-  
stition, & to a certayne edifyng of their faith  
in Christe. I verely (as I haue confessed vnto  
you, & haue declared in deede vnto our coun-  
treymen) had rather that no kinde of vesture  
whiche the papistes vsed, were retayned a-  
mongst vs, and that both foꝛ the moze ful de-  
testation of the Antichristian priesthood, and  
also foꝛ playner aduouchyng of Christian li-  
bertie: yea and to be short, foꝛ the auoydyng  
of dangerous contentions among the bre-  
thren, (though notwithstanding I woulde



haue the Ministers of Churches to vse sage  
 besture, and such whereby they might be dis-  
 cerned from other men ) but chiefly I would  
 al the discipline of Christ to be in force amōg  
 vs: Yet I can not be brought by any Scrip-  
 tures (as farre as I see hytherto) to deny that  
 the true Ministers of Christs Church, may  
 vse without superstition, and to a certayne  
 edification of sayth in Christ, any of those ve-  
 stures which the Antichristians abused. For  
 what should let, but that the Churches may  
 vse that white besture, or more bestures, to  
 monishe vs precisely of that diuine benefite  
 which he by the holy ministerie of the church  
 dealeth vnto vs, the benefite I saye of the  
 light and dignitie of that heavenly doctrine:  
 and by the whiche also the Ministers them-  
 selues may be the more myndfull of their of-  
 fice, and haue both for it, and by the admonish-  
 ment of that outward token, in greater re-  
 uerence of the common people of the church.  
 Whether we wyll or nay, we are compelled  
 to confesse, y the ensignes of them that beare  
 publique offices, helpe some thinges to re-  
 taine & increase the aucthoritie of Magistra-  
 tes & publique power, yf other thinges want  
 not, by the whiche the true reuerence is geuen  
 vnto them. For if these thinges be not ioyned  
 with

with those ensignes, they induce not a benediction, but rather the singular detestation of them, who unworthily vse these notes of vertue. Signes in deede are signes, and not the thinges: yet how muche they are able to admonishe and moue the mind (God geuing the increase) he that obserueth, wyll wonder.

Wherefore, wheras other wayes the true dignitie of Ministers is euident, and yf any particuler church by publique iudgement do consent vpon the retaynyng of certayne vestures, only for the commending vnto vs of the giftes of god, which he geueth by the ministerie of the Church, & for to put the yonger and ruder sort in mynde, without all superstition: Truly I can not see why such vse of vestures in such a Church, may not serue to some commendation of the holy ministration, & so consequentely to the edification of fayth. For what let is there, but at this day they whiche are indued with the same spirite of fayth, may vse a few signes as godly, as the anciēt holy men haue vled many? They had (you wyl say) expresse writing cōcerning the vse of their signes. I graūt, & in dede it made much touchyng the true vse of their signes. But in that God dyd commaunde the vse of those and many signes, we certainly learne, &



the vse of those signes may serue ( he geuyng grace ) to promote true religion , and that it hath none uncleannesse in it selfe , or superstition : neyther can be by the abuse of the wicked so polluted, that it can not be healthfull to godly men vsing it godly. Now when as god by his word hath sanctified al things by our prayers, and hath made all thinges pure to the pure , what cause can we alleage out of the worde of God, to deny that God wyll not blesse such vse of signes ( wherof we speake ) that it shoulde not be effectuous to that Church to some commendation of the ministry, and therof also to some edification of faith: For how can it be, but that he which promised to blesse al the workes of our handes whiche we take in his name, wyll denye his blessing to these signes , seeyng he hath nowhere forbidden such a vse of the as we haue expounded, and hath made vs Lordes of the Sabbath, & all other thinges of this worlde: But if we graunt that these thinges which I haue spoken concernyng the vse of such signes, maye be: it is surely the part of brotherly charitie , commaunded vs by God, to leaue such vse of such signes in such a church, free, to the iudgement and conscience of that congregation , except we see an open abuse, eyther

eyther of superstition (as yf these thynges were vſed as conteynning in themſelues ſome part of godly woꝛſhip of themſelues) oꝛ of coꝛruption (as if they diſpleaſed the greater and better part of the Church) oꝛ of gettyng of good wil of ſome men, whom in theſe things we ought not to gratifie, becauſe they therby go about to bꝛing a ſeruitude, vnwoꝛthy foꝛ Chꝛiſtian men.

It was euident at ſaint Paules tyme, by the moſt cleare Scriptures of God, that the vſe of dayes, meates, and all other externe things, was made free, & it was a ſure token of infirmities in faith to doubt thereof: yet the holy ghoſt pꝛonoũceth, that ſuch weaklings ought to be receaued, not to the troubling of their cogitations, and not to be condemned of the ſtronger in faith, & that in theſe things it myght be graunted to euery one to be ſure of his owne ſenſe, ſeyng that the Lorde had receaued theſe weaklynges.

Nowe if the holy ghoſt woulde haue men to yeld ſo much to them which were in a ma- niſeſt errour, inasmuch as thei depended vpon him in the chiefest & neceſſarie partes of ſincere religion: what ought to be graunted to theſe cōcerning y free vſe of external things, whom we can not conuiſt of anye errour by  
Gods



Gods worde: For howsoever I examine and  
 expende those your two argumentes (that is:  
 They are the imitation of the Aaronicall  
 priesthood, and the markes of Antichristes  
 priesthood, & therefore ought to be eschewed  
 of thē that loue Christ) yet that thyng which  
 you woulde, is not hereby concluded. For to  
 imitate Arons ceremonies, is not of it selfe  
 bitious: but onely then when men vse them  
 as necessarie to saluation, or to signifie that  
 christ is yet for to come to take flesh vpon him.

For yf by no meanes it be lawfull to vse  
 those thinges which were of Arons Priest-  
 hood, or of the Gentiles, then is it not lawfull  
 for vs to haue Churches, nor holydayes. For  
 there is no expresse commaundemēt by word  
 in the holy Scriptures of these thinges. It is  
 gathered notwithstanding, from the example  
 of the olde people, that they are profitable for  
 vs, to the increase of godlinesse, which thing  
 also experience proueth. For any thing to be  
 a note of Antichriste, is not in the nature of  
 any creature in it self (for to that end nothing  
 was made of god) but it hangeth altogether  
 of consenting to Antichristes religion, & the  
 professing thereof. The which consent & pro-  
 fession beyng chaunged into the consent and  
 profession of Christianitie, there can sticke in  
 the

the thinges them selues, no note or marke of  
 Antichristes religion. The vse of Welles was  
 a marke of Antichristianitie in our churches,  
 when the people by them were called to pas-  
 ses, & when they were rong against tēpestes:  
 now they are a token of Christianitie, when  
 the people by them are gathered together to  
 the Gospel of Christ, and other holy actions.  
 Why may it not then be, that the selfe same  
 garment may serue godly with godly men,  
 that was of wicked significatiō with the vn-  
 godly: Truly I know very many ministers  
 of christ, most godly men, who haue vled god-  
 ly these vestures, & at this day do yet vse the:  
 So that I dare not for this cause ascribe vnto  
 them any fault at al, much lesse so heynous a  
 fault of communicating with Antichrist, for  
 the which fault we may vtterly refuse to cō-  
 municate with them in Christ. The Priestes  
 of deuyls dyd celebꝛate in their sacrifices, the  
 distribution of bread and the cup, as Iustinus  
 Martyr, & Tertullian make mention. What  
 let is there, why we may not vse the same ce-  
 remonies also: You wyl say, we haue a com-  
 maundement of oꝛ lord touching this ceremo-  
 nie. Very wel. And by the selfe same it appea-  
 reth, that same thing to serue amōg the chyl-  
 dꝛen of god to the seruice of Christ, which the  
 wicked



wicked abused in the seruice of Deuyls, if the commaundement of Chriſt be added thereto. But it is the commaundement of Chriſte, that in our holy actions we inſtitute and vse al thinges, ſo as comlynelle and order be obſerued, that fayth may be edified.

Nowe yf any Church iudge and haue experience (ſuch as I doubt not there are many this day in Germanie) that the vse of ſuche veſture bringeth ſome commendation to the holy miniſtration, and therby helpeth ſome what in the way of comlynelle and order, to the encrease of fayth: what (I pray you) can be brought out of the Scriptures, why that Church is not to be left to her owne iudgement in this matter, neyther therefore to be condemned, or to be called into queſtion for her iudgement ſake: That Church verily wil kepe in theſe thinges a meane agreeable to the Croſſe of Chriſte, and wyll diligently attende, that no abuſe crepe into it.

If therefore you wyl not admit ſuch libertie and vse of veſture to this pure and holye Church, becauſe they haue no commaundement of the Lorde, nor no example of it: I do not ſee howe you can graunt to any Church, that it maye celebtrate the Lordes ſupper in the mornynge, and in an open Church, eſpecially

tially consecrate to the Lord: that the Sacra-  
 mentes may be distributed to men kneeling  
 or standyng, yea, to women as wel as to men.  
 For we haue receaued of these thinges, nei-  
 ther commaundement of the Lord, nor any  
 example, yea, rather the Lord gaue a contra-  
 rie example. For in the euening, and in a  
 priuate house he did make his supper, and di-  
 stributed the Sacramentes, and that to men  
 only, and sitting at the table. But it wyl be  
 objected, that in England many vse vestures  
 with manifest superstition, and that they do  
 nourishe & confirme in the people superstition.  
 Euen so (it maye be answered) very many  
 abuse al this whole Sacramēt, as also Bap-  
 tisme, and all other Ceremonies. Therefore  
 let vs withstande this mischiefe, & vanquish  
 it vtterly. Wherunto though it may be that  
 the taking away of vestures may helpe som-  
 thyng, yet to dzyue away all this mischiefe, it  
 wyl not suffice. Nay the Priestes themselves  
 must be first remoued, and in their roomes  
 placed faythfull ministers in the kyngdome  
 of Chyste, suche as be learned in deede, and  
 godly affected. To this therefore, to this I  
 say, muste we chiefly endeuour our selues,  
 that the heartes of the people may be purged  
 by fayth, whiche fayth is first begun and in-  
 creased



creased by the hearyng of the woꝛde of God: this hearyng is bzought by the pzachers of the Gospell. Suche therefore let vs call foꝛ, and that there maye be stoꝛe of them, let vs be earnest foꝛ refoꝛmation. Let there be a visitation of the vniuersities, whence many fit ministers foꝛ Churches maye be gotten. Let vs neuer cease to crye out agaynst that Sacrillege, that y<sup>e</sup> fattest benefices are graunted to vnwoꝛthy men, in respect of their woꝛldly seruice: that the parishes are so miserably vndone thzough papisttical slepyghtes & violence. These, these I say, are certaynely papisttical factes, agaynst these ought we chiefly to bende our foꝛce: but to be stout and earnest against stones, stockes, vestures, and such other thinges, which of them selues neither bzing gayne, pleasure, noꝛ honour, it is a very easie matter to the hearer and speaker, especially those that be discharged from papisttical superstition, foꝛ by the shaking of such thinges, great mens stomakes are not offended. But to remoue Churche robbers from the spoyles of Churches, and to do all thinges possible to this ende and purpose, that euery parishc may be pꝛouided of conuenient ministers, & that Curates may haue sufficiēt foꝛ their sustentation, & to ayde them

to the full restitution of Chyistes discipline: This is a thing of great moment: This is a harde thing to all them which are not able to say with saint Paul: For Chyiste is to me Phil. 1. 21 life, & death is to me aduantage. And againe, God so byd that I shoulde reioyce, sauing in the crosse of our Lorde Iesus Chyist, wherein the world is crucified to me, & I to the world. It pleaseeth me right wel, that al Antichyistes trashe shoulde be remoued away, as farre as might be. I meane not only his ensignes and markes, but all his steppes and shadowes in what thing soeuer they seeme to stand, whether it be in stockes, stones, garmentes, or whatsoeuer other thing els it be. But let vs endeouour our selues to banishe first the body and substaunce of Antichyist, and then after, his ensignes, steppes, and shadowes. The body and substaunce of Antichyiste, consisteth in the wycked destroyers and spoylers of Churches, by whose meanes, not only Chyistes discipline, but also al the whole doctrine, is oppressed and put out of place.

When I consyder these thinges, & againe looke backe (as I ought to do) towarde the preceptes of the Lorde, and his examles: I wythe with al my hart, that as many of vs as wyll be Chyistes folowers in deede, that  
even



even so we earnestly go about to restore his  
 kyngdome, as the Lord himselfe went about  
 to begyn it, & that we seke it before all other  
 thinges, and let the preachers in all doctrine  
 and discipline instruct the people, and be such  
 who for our Lorde Chyistes sake & the pre-  
 chynge of the Gospel wyl be redy to leave all  
 that by these mens ministerie we byng the  
 people to the kyngdome of Chyist, and let be  
 appoynt to every flocke their owne faythful  
 shephearde, who may labour no lesse to call  
 agayne the true notes and markes of Chy-  
 ristianitie, as to abolishe utterly the markes  
 & notes of Antichyristianitie, which I woulde  
 wishe so abolished, that there remayned not  
 so much as the memorie of them in any mens  
 heartes. But seeing that this thing can not  
 be brought to passe, unlesse Chyistes kyng-  
 dome be fully receaved, I woulde wishe that  
 all we shoulde to that ende bestowe all our  
 strength, vnto the which worke, for as much  
 as we neede many workefelowes, I woulde  
 wishe (with all such as truely loue the Lorde  
 Iesus) that we set apart all dissention, and  
 ioyne in one perfect concorde, to endeuour  
 our selues to set vpon the comon aduersarie.  
 We see now, being taught by y experience of  
 so many peres, that the Lorde graunteth but

to a seto, to depart from that sentence whiche  
they haue once fastened them selues in,  
specially if they haue also contended for the  
same: so that we shalbe enforced either to  
dissolue christian Communion with many  
whom the Lorde hath receaued, or els we  
must geue place one to another, to the in-  
tent that eyther of them may rest in theys  
alone iudgement, though the other dissent.  
It is a verpe harde thyng in deede, yea to  
most holy men, to denye them selues, and  
he is seldome founde among men, whiche  
woulde not be content rather to yeelde in  
his patrimonie, then in the opinions of his  
witte. Nowe then wheras we see almygh-  
tic God to beare this our infirmitie in vs  
so mercysfully, eye on the hardnesse of our  
heartes, yf the example of our Lorde & God  
can not encline and mollifie our heartes,  
to the like mercy and patience. Wherefore  
I conclude, that we ought to take great di-  
ligent heed: fyrst, that we take not vpon  
vs straghtway, to determine al questions  
as they ryse, yea, let vs sturre none at all  
whiche throughtly tend not to the kingdom  
of Christ. Let vs acknowledge the weak-  
nesse of our witte and iudgement. Let vs  
stand in feare of our naturall arrogancie,



and our penitence selfe-wyll in our owne  
 inventions. All thinges necessary to salua-  
 tion, are set forth vnto vs openly, clearly,  
 and plenteously in the holy scriptures, and  
 in the studie and perfection thereof, every  
 one of vs wanteth verie much. Let vs la-  
 bour then to fulfill, and once to make by  
 our imperfection with godly studies. Of al  
 other matters, let vs dispute most warily,  
 let vs define most slowly, or neuer, let vs con-  
 tende at no tyme. If at any tyme thorough  
 the craft of Satan, & our owne negligence,  
 variaunce shal ryle in these thynges, let vs  
 betyme leaue of from the same as soone as  
 we can, by whatsoeuer way we may, or els  
 let vs make some truse in them. Seldome  
 is there any victorie obtayned: yea neuer  
 holisome victorie gotten.

> Whereby (most godly sir) you see vndoubt-  
 edly what is best to be done, both in this  
 controuersie of vestures, and also of the li-  
 bertie of other ceremonies. I had rather  
 then much goodes this question had neuer  
 ben moued: but now seeing it is moued,  
 I wysh it to be geuen ouer, and deferred  
 to some other tymes.

These your two argumentes: It is a  
 pecc of Aarons Priesthood, and therefore

contu.

contumelious toward Christ now exhibited,  
 as then glorious, when he was to be exhi-  
 bited. **Secondarily,** These are notes of  
 Antichristianitie, and therefore not to be  
 vsed of men geuen to Christianitie. These  
 reasons (I say) conclude not in my iudge-  
 ment, that whiche you take in hande. For  
 we bozowe many thinges godlye from the  
 orders of Aarons Priesthood, to the glozve  
 of Christ now exhibited. So many thinges  
 which the Antichristes haue made markes  
 of theyr impietie, may be tokens of the  
 kyngdome of Christ, as the signes of bread  
 and wine, the water of Baptisme, the lay-  
 ing on of handes, preachynges, Churches,  
 holpdaves, and many other thynges. Al-  
 so these places of Scripture are of a great  
 scope. The earth and the fulnes thereof is  
 of the Lord, not of the deuyl, not of Anti-  
 christ, not of the wycked. And agayne, The  
 sonne of man is Lord of the Sabbath, and  
 the Sabbath is made for man, and not  
 man for the Sabbath: And all thyngs are  
 pure to y pure: And every creature of God  
 is good, nor can be defiled to good men, by  
 the abuse of euyl men. The worde of god  
 must be folowed in all respectes, aswell in  
 our pynate actions, as publique. For all  
 thynges

Mat. xii. 8.  
 Mar. ii. 27.  
 Titus. i. 2.  
 1. Tim. 4. 5



thynges are to be done in the name of the  
 Loꝛde Iesu, and to the gloꝛy of God. When  
 such libertie as we graunt to our selues in  
 our pꝛiuate vse of externall thynges, let be  
 not denyed in publique. The true spirite of  
 Christ, goyng about to ouerthrowe Anti-  
 chrisse, ouerthroweth fyrst those thynges  
 whiche are cheefe and peculier vnto hym.  
 For first the spirite of Christ endeuoryng  
 the restitution of Christes kyngdome, re-  
 stozeth fyrst doctrine and discipline, whiche  
 be the cheefe & peculier popates of Christes  
 kyngdome.

This colourable craft of Satan also  
 must be taken heed of, by the whiche he  
 byngeth to passe ostentymes, that eyther  
 we reckon those thynges synnes which are  
 no synnes, and those that be synnes in dede,  
 we seme not to regard them in our selues.  
 Or els agaynst those synnes whiche our  
 conscience define to be synnes in dede, we  
 vse no suche seueritie as we ought.

The Loꝛde graunt that you, right wor-  
 thyppfull frende, may religiously weygh  
 these thynges. I knowe you seeke the glo-  
 ry of Christ, & I haue heard of you, where-  
 in I reioyce, that you are carefull of your  
 iudgement, so that you dare not straigh-  
 way

may reckon the same for sure and certain,  
though you seeme to follow playnely the  
woorde of God, thinking with your selfe  
that you are a man, and that you may steepe  
out of the way.

Therefore I desyre and beseeche you by  
the crosse of the sonne of God, by the salva-  
tion of the Churches whiche are at this  
day overwhelmed with calamities, by the  
desired consent that we shoulde seeke to  
raigne in all Churches, by the peace that  
is in Christe Iesu: Agayne, I desyre and  
beseeche you, that you do nothing rashly  
in this question of ceremonies. You  
haue seene weake members in the Churches  
of Saxonie, you haue seene also many  
thinges for the which you give God thanks.  
Let no man therefore, except it be by  
great necessitie, casse of those, whom  
the Lorde hath so notably taken to hym.  
I would to God the state of the Churches  
of Fraunce, Italy, Polerland, were brought  
to this poynt. Let vs in this Realme take  
most godly heed, that we further not but  
awares the devils intentes, who throbeth  
in among vs sundry questions and contro-  
versies: lest we shoulde take in hand to  
handle the question of setting forward the  
doctrine



100  
doctrin of the Gospell, and restoring of  
discipline, & thereby to remoue all Dynes  
from Ecclesiasticall and scholasticall mini-  
steries. This Satan, when he can not re-  
taine the order of Bishops wholly in ser-  
uice vnto hym, he goeth about utterly to  
abolyshe this order, and by that occasion  
so to spoyle the Churches, that whyles due  
Expenses want, the holy ministerie may be  
committed to the vilest of the raskall peo-  
ple. Let vs take heed of these cogitations  
of Satan, and let vs withstande them  
as muche as we can, by the power of the  
Lorde, and by no meanes vnadvisedly to  
helpe them forwards. Fele we are which  
sincerely professe the Lord Jesus, and none  
of vs there is, which is not oppressed with  
much infirmitie: therefore let vs receaue  
one another, as the Lorde hath receaued  
vs. Let vs yeeld mutually one to another,  
as the Lorde hath yeelde to vs, which sin-  
cere and duetifull loue, if it beare stroke a-  
mong vs, we shalbe able with one spirite,  
and one mouth, & with our whole might,  
to discomfite the body and substance of  
Antichrist. And so afterward without any  
offence of the good, & with certayne edifica-  
tion of faith among the children of god, we  
may

may bying to passe the bitter defacing of all  
the markes, steps, & shadowes of Antichrist.

¶ **O** Lorde Iesus, thou our onely peace-  
maker, aswell with the father as betwixt  
our selues, banishe out of our mindes  
whatsoever draweth vs in sonder, what-  
soever darkeneth the clearenesse of iudge-  
ment among our selues, whatsoever by  
any way hyndereth the absolute con corde  
in thy ministers in defence of thy king-  
dome, & in destroying the tyrannie of An-  
tichrist. Poure into our mindes thy holy  
ghost, which may leade vs into all truth,  
who graunt vs to see and take in hande al  
one thyng: but firste of all that whiche is  
cheefest, whereby the strength of thy kyng-  
dome may be restored vnto vs, and al thin-  
ges parteyning to Antichrist, may clene be  
blotted out of all mens heartes & memory.  
The goodnes & loue of the sonne of God,  
for his infinite loues sake towardes vs,  
prouchsafe to geue vs these thinges, to the  
gloze of his name, to the saluation of his  
elect, and that the wycked say not Aill.  
Where is thy Christ? Amen.

*Deditissimus tibi in domino  
Martinus Bucerus.*



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